Daily Report

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Alia Says Army on Alert; Will Not Cross Borders

AU2507143791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] In an interview with Albanian Television, Albanian President Ramiz Alia said that the Albanian Army is on alert but will not cross its borders. He added that Albania only supports the wishes of the Albanians in Kosovo who are demanding autonomy, republic status, or some third possibility, TANJUG reports.

Alia Receives Intelligence Chief Kocollari

AU2507202291 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Ramiz Alia, president of the Republic, received Irakli Kocollari, chairman of the National Intelligence Service, for a working meeting this morning following his appointment to this post yesterday by presidential decree.

During their talk, the president wished the chairman of the National Intelligence Service success in his work, and stated that, in accordance with the special law recently approved by the People's Assembly, under which the organization of this service is entirely (?regulated), work will begin to rebuild this service from scratch. The service will work to further the country's stability and prospects for peace, directing its work toward the defense of the homeland against the work of foreign intelligence agencies and services. Bajram Yzeiri, minister of public order, also attended the meeting.

Alia Receives Macedonian Government Delegation

LD2607103591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1956 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Ohrid, 25 Jul (TANJUG)—Any destabilizatiuon of Yugoslavia is a risk not only for the Yugoslav nations, but also for Albanians living in Yugoslavia. That is why we are calling for Yugoslavia's problems to be resolved in a civilized manner and through democratic dialogue, for the sake of the well-being of all the peoples of Yugoslavia, including Albanians.

This, as Albanian Television in Tirana reported, was stated today by Albanian President Ramiz Alia at a reception for Macedonian Prime Minister Nikola Kljusev. "Your visit represents a new juncture in the cooperation between Albania and Macedonia. We have common interests in cooperation, particularly in the political, economic, and cultural spheres," Ramiz Alia said.

The Macedonian prime minister stressed that Macedonia and Albania have points in common which facilitate joint cooperation in all sectors. "It is good that we have found a common language for cooperation in industry, transport, and tourism," Nikola Kljusev said.

The Macedonian prime minister extended greetings to Ramiz Alia from Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov and officially invited him to visit Macedonia. "Yugoslavia is experiencing difficult times, but our efforts are aimed at resolving the situation through agreement and dialogue on the basis of the Paris document," Nikola Kljusev told Ramiz Alia.

The Macedonian Government delegation which is visiting Albania today and tomorrow at the invitation of the Albanian Government, and which is composed of Deputy Prime Minister Becir Zuta and Ministers Denko Maleski [foreign affairs] and Goce Petreski [development], was also received by Albanian Deputy Premier Zydi Pepa and Albanian Minister of Culture and Sports Prec Zogaj. In their talks they considered the questions of Macedonians in Albania and Albanians in Macedonia and cooperation in industry, agriculture, and construction. They focused on concrete forms of cooperation between the Macedonian and Albanian construction industries. The Macedonian side showed interest in using the port of Durres.

Predrag Pjanic, Yugoslav ambassador to Tirana, also took part in the talks between the Macedonian Government delegation and Albanian officials.

PSSh Dissociates Itself From PPSh Abuses

AU2507202891 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] A declaration issued by the Managing Committee of the Albanian Socialist Party [PSSh] states, among other things, that the PSSh considers it an important moral and political duty to dissociate itself from the past and reestablish the dignity, rights, and honor of members of the Albanian Workers Party [PPSh] who were expelled from its ranks because their opinions conflicted with the official line laid down by the leadership.

It dissociates itself publicly from the arbitrary and damaging penal policy pursued in the past over matters of conscience, because it led to violations of human rights, destroyed ties with the people, and caused spiritual suffering and other even more serious and undeserved consequences.

The PSSh will work to enable the new law-governed and democratic state to determine as soon as possible an appropriate legal framework for all those punished for their ideological and political convictions, in order to improve their social and economic conditions and ensure that they and their families will enjoy support from state and economic bodies.

The party dissociates itself entirely from all those state and party officials responsible for sectarian attitudes and unjust stands against others.

The PSSh's Managing Committee, the declaration states, turns to historians, sociologists, and other researchers to verify objectively and with documentation the roles, responsibilities, and mistakes of the leaders of the PPSh and other figures linked with its history, who are no longer alive but were the victims of state and party charges.

Assembly Discusses Draft Law on Political Parties

AU2507152591 Tirana ATA in English 0758 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Tirana, July 25 (ATA)—On July 24, the People's Assembly continued the discussion on the articles of the draft law for political parties. They discussed and adopted the articles 17-28 of this draft law.

These articles define the party as a juridical person which has the necessary means to carry out its activity, the press, means of propaganda, etc. They underline that financial and material aids from foreign states and foreign public private institutions are prohibited. These articles allow presents and aids from parties, international party unions to the degree equal with the amount a party gets from state subventions. Likewise, the articles include facilities created from the state for the activity of the parties, cases when parties break up, etc.

The People's Assembly continues its proceedings on July 25.

National Unity Party Appeals to Compatriots

AU2507203291 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] An appeal by the Party of Albanian National Unity addressed to the people and our compatriots throughout the world points out, among other things, that we are experiencing an unprecedented economic, political, and social crisis. Our nation stands at a crossroads. People's lives are increasingly insecure, and one cannot even speak of discipline, order, productivity, and thrift at work.

The Party of Albanian National Unity, which puts the interests of the nation above all else, appeals to the people's patriotism and honesty, for the sake of Albania's destiny. Slavic and Greek chauvinism from abroad, and general degeneration at home, seek to assimilate us as a nation or to spoil us as Albanians. We are threatened by a dire catastrophe.

Our appeal is, therefore, that we should come to our senses. We appeal to conscience, since the future will not forgive the mistakes we make, or our present (?self-neglect) and apathy.

We appeal to our compatriots to experience alongside us in spirit this serious economic, moral, and social crisis through which Albania is passing. The people place their hopes for an end to this situation in their compatriots. They are opening the way for their compatriots' investments and help. Albania, today more than ever, needs the help of its sons outside the homeland.

Turning to the president, deputies, and the government, the appeal states that the people (?convey) their views to you. Order, discipline, the elimination of insecurity now and in the future, and the struggle against criminals and vagabonds lie in your hands. The people wish you to stand by them, working for speedy and tangible solutions for all their woes and concerns. The people call for a solution to the economic crisis and the crisis of confidence, and ask to be able to live in security and peace.

Democratic Front Elects Managing Council

AU2507174191 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 13 Jul 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Strengthening National Unity—A Current and Historical Necessity"]

[Text] The General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania [FDSh] met yesterday in one of the halls of the National History Museum in Tirana.

After the report "The FDSh's Renewal, an Urgent Task of the Time," delivered by Aleks Luarasi, the General Council's deputy chairman, speeches were heard and valuable ideas and suggestions were produced. After approving the report, the Council decided:

1. To accept the collective resignation of the Presidium of the General Council

2. To summon a national conference of the FDSh before the end of 1991.

3. The General Council elected an FDSh Managing Council, consisting of 17 comrades, in order to manage the work of the Council and to draft new basic documents, such as a draft program and statute, to be submitted to the national conference. Comrade Zeqir Lushaj was elected as secretary to this council.

All the Council's proceedings, including both the report and the speeches, stressed the current and historical necessity of strengthening national unity. For the sake of this great cause, the Democratic Front requires the participation of all the country's political and social forces in this all-people's organization. With this in mind, the General Council approved in principle that the Managing Council should invite and keep seats for all the political parties and religious communities.

4. The General Council instructed that all the presidiums of the Front's councils in the districts should act at once in the spirit of this meeting and give a pluralist character to their work, without waiting for the election campaign leading up to the National Conference.

5. In order to pave the way to the process of the total reform and restructuring of the FDSh organization at all levels, the General Council unanimously tendered its resignation. The Managing Council assumes the competences of the General Council and the Presidium until the FDSh National Conference.

FDSh Managing Council Elected

1. Agim Kellici; 2. Aleks Luarasi; 3. Bardhyl Londo; 4. Enver Balla; 5. Hamit Aliaj; 6. Hamit Borici; 7. Haxhi Aliko; 8. Ismail Lulani; 9. Llesh Doku; 10. Nadja Xheblati; 11. Shyqyri Skenderi; 12. Tefta Rexha; 13. Teodor Laco; 14. Valdete Sala; 15. Vangjel Ngjela; 16. Yllson Manoku; 17. Zeqir Lushaj, secretary.

Commentator Deplores Support for Leka Zogu

AU2407182391 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 20 Jul 91 p 1

[Napoleon Roshi commentary: "We Are Not Getting Rid of One Dictatorship In Order To Replace It With Another"]

[Text] The half century of totalitarian Enverist dictatorship has pushed our people to their limits, led them to the verge of starvation, led to the disappearance of their sons in the humiliating exodus, and to wavering faith in the ability to build a future with our own hands and in the generous help of the civilized world. Despite the depth of this despair, Albanians have not lost their reason or democratic common sense to the extent of giving free rein to those forces wishing to replace the loathed Enverist dictatorship with an undemocratic regime. The Democratic Party of Albania [PDSh] and the other opposition forces have now united the people on the road to Europe, progress, and the realization of the noble Helsinki and Paris Charters. Under such circumstances, attempts to launch Leka Zogu as the legitimate heir of the royal crown are totally anachronistic. Even more questions arise when one sees the zeal with which security [sigurimi] agents distribute photographs of Leka Zogu everywhere.

It is an insult to any democrat to serve up as an alternative such a dubious figure as Leka Zogu, who was deported from Spain and Southern Rhodesia before finding a bolthole in South Africa, pursued by all those epithets of the world press relating to arms or drug trafficking.

He is offered up as the legitimate heir of a king for whose sins he himself must answer before he claims the throne. Let him answer for the suppression of Fan Noli's Albanian democratic revolution in 1924; let him answer for the blood of Bajram Curri, Luigj Gurakuqi, and many other distinguished patriots; let him answer for his shameful desertion of Albania on 7 April 1939; let him answer for the gold the royal person took from the state treasury.

Gentlemen, you are at least 50 years behind the times. Do not forget that you are now dealing with a people that has suffered under the most savage Stalinist regime on the entire European continent. You are dealing with a people that had the courage to challenge this hated dictatorship, forcing it to retreat step by step, and grasping pluralism for themselves by force.

Once again: No, gentlemen. Leave Leka Zogu to tour the hotels of Europe and leave the Albanian people in peace. Leka Zogu will never be able to realize how emancipated the Albanian people have become since his father abandoned them to the mercy of fate. After seven months of pluralism, the Albanians are spiritually thoroughly prepared to embrace the spirit of Europe. So are the students who with their bravery and prudence made their decisive contribution to this pluralism we enjoy today. So are the miners of the coal basin, and the glassworkers, and the 350,000 Albanian workers who went on an unprecedented general strike that shook monism to its foundations and overthrew the government. So are the deputies of the democratic and freedom-loving Albanian forces who, with their civil courage and cultural background, for the first time gave Albania a few basic laws fully up to European and world standards. So are the entire Albanian people, who are now thoroughly emancipated even in those regions that until yesterday were unjustly called Enverist, but who now aspire to democracy and progress.

The PDSh, convinced that it expresses the feelings and aspirations of the most progressive and democratic forces, replies with a curt "no" to any attempt to serve up Leka Zogu to the people. The Albanian people are not overthrowing the dictatorship of Enver and his successors in order to replace it with a monarchy that was constructed on the ruins of a bloodily suppressed democratic revolution. The Albanian people will enter Europe with European thinking, led by the anticommunist forces of the opposition, in which the PDSh plays a primary role.

Italian Emigration Minister Boniver Visits Tirana

AU2507102391 Rome ANSA in English 0826 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] (ANSA) Tirana, July 24—Economic development and job creation remain the key to avoiding the kind of mass exodus of Albanians which (?saw) over 20,000 of them enter Italy this spring alone, top-ranking Italian and Albanian officials agreed here today.

The point was made during talks between Italian Minister for Emigration Affairs Margherita Boniver (?and) the Albanian leaders: President Ramiz Alia, Prime Minister Ylli Bufi and Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani.

In unrelated exchanges, Boniver and Alia also had a brief discussion of the Yugoslav crisis on which Alia said he was "not a pessimist." His (?words were encouraging)" Boniver said later, "because of Albania's position as [word indistinct] observatory for Yugoslavia."

Sources [words indistinct] atmosphere was "extraordinarily cordial." The agenda also covered the July (?31) deadline for the Albanians who have entered Italy illegally since last summer and have yet to (?regulate their position) under the country's emigration control legislation.

(?Chatting with reporters), Alia pointed out that the exodus during which Albanian (?boat) people took to the sea to flee to a [words indistinct] refugee camps in Italy was closely linked to the (?Italian) country's economic situation.

"We didn't send the refugees," he said. "To avoid further migration our economy has to be put to rights," a problem for which [word indistinct] aid is needed. "It looks like an easy transformation," he said of the transition from a planned to a market economy, "but in fact it is very difficult" [words indistinct]

Boniver told the reporters that studies are being made of seasonal contracts for Albanians to work in Italy "in the near future." But she made (?it clear) that no new entries could be considered except under the terms of the Martelli [words indistinct] approved early in the year to regulate the entry of non-EC citizens into Italy.

She added that mass entries could not be considered since the political conditions in Albania have changed so radically. If attempts are made to enter Italy (?illegally) she said, the Italian response will be unchanged: returning those involved to where they came from.

According to Boniver, 7,000 of the Albanians in Italy have now found a job or signed on for a job training course. She said the refugees integration into Italian society is taking place "without particular difficulty."

Asked by an Albanian journalist about the truth of a report that 10,000 Albanians will be repatriated at the end of July, Boniver answered: "I don't know where that figure came from."

She added that she has received ample assurances on how the refugees will be treated if they return home. She also said that those who have found work and lodging in Italy may be allowed to bring their immediate family over next year.

Pepa, Boniver Discuss Refugees

AU2507151291 Tirana ATA in English 0800 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Tirana, July 25 (ATA)—On July 24, before noon, talks were conducted between the vice-premier Zydi Pepa and the minister of emigration of the Italian Republic, Mrs. Margherita Boniver, at the seat of the Premier's Office.

During the talks, they spoke of the promotion of the processes of democratization in Albania and the difficulties the new pluralist government is encountering in the stabilisation of the country, the realisation of the initiated economic reforms. The Albanian vice-premier Zydi Pepa thanked the Italian Government and people for the care shown for the Albanian refugees in Italy. This, he said, is a concrete expression of the humane sentiments of the Italian people and of the traditional friendly relations that have existed between our two neighbouring peoples.

After thanking for the warm reception, the Italian minister of emigration, Mrs. Margherita Boniver, briefed them on the situation of the Albanian refugees in Italy. The Italian Government, she said, has done its best to distribute the 24 thousand Albanian refugees in the Italian territory, where they are systematized. We hope, she said, that till July 31, 50 per cent of the Albanian refugees be employed. Italy, she said, has spent for the refugees three times more that the quantity given to Albania in form of aid.

During the talks they talked also on a consular agreement on the seasonal employment of Albanian citizens in Italy, on the strengthening of the ties and contacts of the Albanian refugees with their families, etc.

Kozloduy 'Radioactive Spot' Under Inspection

AU2507144291 Sofia BTA in English 1320 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 25 (BTA)—In answer to a question whether the source of the one-square-metre large radioactive spot that was discovered on the site of Generating Unit No 1 of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant on July 22 has been detected, Mr. Boris Georgiev, chairman of the Committee on the Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy, said that the inspection is still continuing.

Mr. Georgiev expressed his hope that the first results of the inspection would become known within few days.

'Spot' To Be 'Cemented'

AU2507153491 Sofia BTA in English 1451 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 25 (BTA)—The contaminated spot will be cemented immediately, an official of the Atomna Energetika (Atomic Energy) Corporation announced today in connection with the recent discovery of a one-square-metre large contaminated spot whose radiation reading was 2.5 milliroentgen/hour. The contamination of the spot exceeds the admissible limits on the site of the Kozloduy N-plant tenfold, the Power Generation Committee said.

Measures have been taken to discover the cause for the leakage and to localize the contaminated spot. The spot has been sealed off and "radioactivity" signs have been installed. The spot will be cemented immediately and the area will remain under control.

There is no connection between the contaminated spot and the drainage radioactive pollution of past years.

Two New Leaks Found

AU2607113491 Paris AFP in English 1101 GMT 26 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 26 (AFP)—Two new leaks have been found at a Bulgarian nuclear plant already contaminated with radioactivity, a senior official said here as plans went ahead to pour cement over the site of the first leak.

Two "small areas" on the facade of one reactor and on the power plant platform had been discovered Wednesday to be contaminated, the president of the state atomic energy company Zakhari Boyadiev said in a television interview late Thursday.

Officials said Friday that cement was to be poured immediately onto the part of the Kozloduy plant found to be radioactive on Monday.

The area of the first leak was emitting 10 times the permitted level of radioactivity, the BTA news agency reported.

Mr. Boyadiev said the radioactivity level of the two new leaks was double that of the first one.

The International Atomic Energy Agency has pressed Bulgaria to modernize or close down four reactors at the Kozloduy plant. Neighbouring Austria wants the plant shut down.

"If the heavy rain of recent days was enough to crack the protective walls at the Kozloduy plant, you can easily imagine what could happen if there was an earthquake," Joachim Horn, an expert from the plant, said in an interview with the Austrian newspaper "AZ" [Vienna AZ in German 26 Jul, reporting the first leak, identifies Horn as Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network's specialist on Kozloduy].

Part of the platform measuring two square metres (20 square feet) between reactors one and two would be covered in cement, Mr. Boyadiev said.

Reactors one and two, the oldest in the power station, are due to be halted between August 15 and September 15.

The government also decided on Thursday to keep the country's second nuclear power station at Belene on the banks of the Danube closed, Vice Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov said, the agency reported.

The plant, which is equipped with a reactor of 1,000 megawatts, would be converted during the next few years into a conventional station powered by steam and gas and would produce 1,500 megawatts.

Construction work at the plant was halted last year at the request of the Ecoglasnost ecology movement which said that the station had been built on ground at risk from earthquakes.

Pollution Linked to Chernobyl

AU2507173691 Sofia BTA in English 1556 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Oryakhovo, July 25 (BTA)—The radioactive spots detected some months ago around the town of Oryakhovo (at about 20 kilometers from the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant) have appeared in consequence of the Chernobyl accident and they are not connected with the Bulgarian Kozloduy N-plant, a specially appointed government commission stated today. The high caesium concentration (173) in the soil samples is not due to pollution from the Kozloduy plant, but is the result of the Chernobyl accident, the commission argued, stressing the fact that no other radionucleids characteristic of the Kozloduy emissions were discovered.

People's health and lives are not in danger.

Kozloduy Managers Replaced; Belene Plant Canceled

AU2507201091 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Bilyana Mikhaylova report on Council of Ministers session—live]

[Excerpts] At today's session the Council of Ministers decided to discontinue lead production in Bulgaria. [passage omitted]

After 40 years of operation, the state arbitration court was abolished on the grounds that the institution is in contradiction with the constitutional principle of division of power. [passage omitted]

The ministers expressed their approval of the request submitted by Sofia Mayor Karakachanov on establishing a directorate for expropriation, turnover fund, and legal-technical services under the Sofia City Council.

It was also decided to transform the Iskur Hunting Center into a state forestry enterprise.

After the end of the Council of Ministers session Deputy Prime Minister Tomov declared that the cabinet adopted a report on drafting a memorandum between the Bulgarian Government and the European Community on financial and technical assistance for improving safety in the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant.

The memorandum is expected to be signed in Brussels on next Wednesday, 31 July, from where Mr. Tomov would be expected to return with an amount of 11.5 million ECU [European Currency Units].

It became known in the meantime that the team which was in charge of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant's management for the last 6 months would be replaced, but the names of the new managers are still unknown.

There will be no nuclear power station in Belene. The building project will be transformed into a gas-fueled power plant with a 1,500 megawatt capacity.

A preliminary decision has been made to begin with the planning and construction of such a plant on the same site in Belene where construction work worth hundreds of millions of leva has already been completed.

Mr. Tomov stressed that the government's decision in this respect is not influenced by economic considerations, but based on the principle that safety should prevail over profitable production.

The decision was also prompted by the seismic nature of the territory in question, where the construction of a nuclear power plant might involve some risks.

I should not forget to mention another important decision adopted at today's Council of Ministers session: It was decided to charge to the state budget and Natural Disasters Fund all damages caused in the municipalities of Gabrovo, Turnovo, and Dryanovo by the heavy rainfall in early July. These losses amount to 233,228,000 leva.

Zhelev, Minchev Differ on Treaty Military Clause

AU2607092691 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 22 Jul 91 p 2

[DUMA PRESS report]

[Text] President Zhelev and Colonel General Radnyu Minchev, chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, have differences over the future bilateral treaty between Bulgaria and the USSR. According to informed sources, Zhelev and Minchev reportedly hold differing views on the treaty's military clause.

They discussed this topic in the central observation tower during the maneuvers in Novo Selo [on 20 July]. It became clear during their discussion that General Minchev was speaking about the close technical ties between the Bulgarian Army and its combat equipment and Soviet military production. Here he was primarily thinking of supplies of spare parts.

General Minchev said that if a gearbox or even a single cog breaks, Bulgaria can only get replacements from the USSR, there is nowhere else. He added that this has nothing in common with mutually binding military-political clauses.

Government Places Embargo on SFRY Arms Sales

AU2507132491 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 23 Jul 91 p 1

[DUMA PRESS report]

[Text] By a decision adopted on 22 July, the Bulgarian Government banned the export, re-export, and transit through Bulgaria of arms, military equipment, ammunition, and special equipment to the SFRY.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was instructed to notify the Yugoslav Government of the position adopted by Bulgaria.

The report entitled "20,000 Kalashnikovs Were Delivered by Sea From Bulgaria to Croatia" does not correspond to the truth, Yasen Indzhev, chief of the Government Press Center, told journalists on 22 July, in connection with the material published in yesterday's "24 CHASA" newspaper, which reprinted information supplied by BTA.

An eminent Bulgarian military leader and certain politicians described as a fresh attempt to fan an anti-Bulgarian campaign a report in the Yugoslav newspaper "POLITIKA" that 20,000 Kalashnikov submachine guns had been delivered by sea from Bulgaria to Croatia. This claim, made by R. Sekulic, director of the Federal Customs Administration of Yugoslavia, is not supported by proof.

An inquiry made at the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Bulgaria revealed that no automatic hand weapons of Bulgarian manufacture had been sold to Yugoslavia, or specifically to Croatia.

I do not recall any sales of automatic weapons to the SFRY and Croatia in recent years, stated Iliya Gunchev, general director of the Metalkhim Company. Our only business contacts were with the Federal Supplies Directorate of the Yugoslav People's Army, which holds a

monopoly on imports and exports to and from Yugoslavia, but we had no such deal with the directorate. According to Mr. Gunchev, Kalashnikovs can be bought anywhere in the world.

A manager of another Bulgarian company, a firearms manufacturer, refused to comment on such a report until facts are supplied.

On Bulgarian Television last night, the claims by the newspaper, which is close to the Serbian Government, were also refuted by Anton Saldzhiev, general director of the Kinteks Company.

Assembly Decides on Proportional Electoral System

AU2507151791 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] The elections on 29 September will proceed according to the proportional system—this is the latest news from the National Assembly, where consultations among the legislative groups took place. The news was announced to journalists by Petur Kornazhev.

Other participants in the consultations reported that the discussion on the number of electoral districts continues and that other questions are also being debated. We expect to hear more details.

BSP Draft Election Platform Stresses Production

AU2607100291 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 22 Jul 91 p 1

[Dora Chichkova report]

[Text] The economy cannot last for more than a month unless the government starts to print money. The budget deficit is unrealistic. Unpopular measures lie ahead, and they may well have to be taken before the elections.

These were some of the predictions that Aleksandur Tomov made at the session of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] held on Saturday 20 July. The meeting discussed a working draft of the party's election platform.

The party leadership considers that the deepening economic crisis is not only a consequence of the totalitarian regime and the inevitable difficulties of the transition. To a large extent, it is caused by the current ineffective economic policy and the one-sided nature of the economic reform that is being carried out.

It was noted at the meeting that the relative monetary stabilization achieved by Minister Kostov is largely losing its meaning, because Minister Pushkarov has no concept for the structural aspect of the reform. Moreover, Mr. Pushkarov's personal advisers have no clear concept for their participation in the work of company boards, although each of them sits on several such boards.

On the basis of its analysis, the BSP Supreme Council proposes its own alternative plan for emerging from the crisis. If the people put their trust in us, we will put production in the center of the economic reform, the draft platform states. According to its authors, active state intervention, mainly by economic means, is not only necessary, but inevitable in order to rescue the economy from the present trap.

The electors will be able to read the Socialists' views on the possible ways of stimulating production in the final text of the platform, which will be adopted at an all-party conference on 2 or 3 August.

The BSP Supreme Council meeting approved the members of the all-party election campaign center. The chairman of the center is Aleksandur Lilov; Yanaki Stoilov is first deputy chairman; Petya Shopova and Rosen Karadimov are deputy chairmen; Apostol Dimitrov is coordinator of operations; and Filip Bokov is the spokesman.

National Democratic Party Platform Announced

AU2507144591 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] The Bulgarian National Democratic Party has adopted the following election campaign slogans: Democracy under the Bulgarian tricolored flag, and We prefer the law, even if it is imperfect, to chaos and lawlessness. This was announced today at a news conference of the National Democratic Party held in Sofia, which was attended by one of our reporters.

The Bulgarian National Democratic Party is currently working in close cooperation with the Bulgarian Constitutional Forum and intends to establish close relations with Stefan Stoyanov's Conservative Pact.

The leaders of the National Democratic Party declared that they accept the new Constitution, despite its serious shortcomings, which they describe as genetic defects.

For this reason the Bulgarian National Democratic Party intends to submit its own draft amendments to the Constitution. The party has already submitted to the National Assembly and to the president a bill on the free expression of the Bulgarian citizens' cultural and religious individuality.

It was also announced at the news conference that the party has approximately 5,000-6,000 members today, 80 percent of whom are under the age of 30.

Conference Held on Opposition Election Coalition

AU2607091591 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 20 Jul 91 p 2

[Zoya Georgieva report]

[Text] On 19 July, a national conference was held in the Ivan Vazov National Theater with the aim of coordinating the opposition forces in an election coalition. The meeting was organized by Zhorzh Ganchev, chairman of the Bulgarian Business Bloc, and all the opposition parties and

movements were invited, with the exception of certain parties and movements "created with the support of the Bulgarian Socialist Party or associated with it."

No representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] attended. In the half-empty hall, the only SDS leader present was Petur Beron, who explicitly stated that he was participating as a private individual.

Kuzman Kuzmanov, chairman of the "Party Nonmembers for Democracy" Movement, said that the leaders' ambitions hindered the unification of the opposition. Some 16 extraparliamentary parties came out with a declaration that no political leader was authorized to speak or act in the name of the extralegislative opposition or of any "united national opposition forces." The declaration was disseminated by the BTA's KURIER Press Service.

Agrarian Supreme Council Decision on Unification

AU2607085491 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 22 Jul 91 p 1

["Decision of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union"]

[Text] 1. The Supreme Union Council supports the position to establish a united Bulgarian National Agrarian Union as a political guarantee for the extrication of the country from the economic crisis, and the defense of democracy and civic peace in the Republic of Bulgaria.

2. The Supreme Union Council gives full authority to the chairman of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] and the BZNS Permanent Board to do what is necessary to reach a political agreement for the establishment of a BZNS-United, based on the principles of mutual respect and consideration for the rights and interests of all participants.

3. The Supreme Union Council supports and will actively participate in the holding of the National Unification Conference, set for 27 July 1991.

20 July 1991

Press Freedom Controversy Seen Escalating

AU2507213091 Sofia BTA in English 1719 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 25 (BTA)—Lately the relations between Bulgarian politicians and journalists have been marked by mounting tension. The recent decision of the Committee for Radio and Television to listen to the recordings of all radio progammes broadcasted since July 7 led to an exchange of sharp criticisms. Under this decision a commission comprising M.P's of the two major political forces (the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF]) and cabinet members will listen to the recordings and judge whether or not "a journalist is fit to work in the national mass media."

After the decision was adopted, a journalist said about the committee it was not "for" but "against" the national radio and television. The Bulgarian journalists defined this decision as censorship point blank.

The journalists working for the Khorizont Radio Program responded with a strong-worded declaration. They were backed up by the BTA journalists, the "OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK" daily and by the Union of Bulgarian Journalists.

The UDF radicals, who until recently were on hunger strike, demanded that the committee repeal its decision.

Under an earlier decision adopted by the committee, the mass media were recommended to work for the preservation of social peace. On this occasion evening roundup newscaster Neri Terzieva appeared on the national television with a helmet by her side. "I'm safeguarding social peace," she said.

The problem is that the politicians here want to bring journalism under their control. The national radio and television are the main targets of criticism. Cabinet members say that the radio has aired commentaries which cast doubt on government decisions. "I am for pure information," Bulgarian Prime Minister Dimitur Popov said at a meeting with radio journalists. It was the first meeting ever held between the country's premier and journalists.

The hunger strike of the radical UDF M.P.'s unleashed a wave of criticism, too. The hunger-strikers claimed that their action should make the headlines, while the other M.P.'s of UDF who stayed in parliament grumbled that the national television devoted only four minutes to the adoption of Bulgaria's new Constitution.

Radio chief Aleksandur Vladkov and Television chief Ognyan Saparev are constantly urged to hand in their resignations. Mr. Asen Agov, editor-in-chief of the news department of Bulgarian Television, says in today's "DEMOKRATSIYA" that the crisis in this institution has developed on a purely professional basis.

Recently the Bulgarian journalists have repeatedly been told to separate news from commentaries. Mr. Filip Bokov, spokesman for the BSP Electoral Center, said that "it is high time to put the BBC Charter on the table." At the latest BSP briefing Mr. Bokov mentioned that a code of "rules of behavior in radio and television" should be worked out.

At the moment all political forces keep advising the mass media to make their contribution to peaceful elections and, as Prime Minister Popov put it, "be soldiers safeguarding the peaceful transition to democracy and inspiring people with optimism."

Podkrepa 25 Jul News Conference Reported

AU2507211691 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Vesela Maeva report on news conference given by the Podkrepa Labor Confederation in Sofia—live]

[Excerpts] Our reporter Vesela Maeva attended today's news conference of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation.

The topics announced in advance were the following: Information related to the requests for the resignations of Ognyan Saparev, chairman of Bulgarian Television; Minister of Internal Affairs Khristo Danov; and Sofia Mayor Karakachanov.

Let us hear more details from Vesela Maeva, who is in the studio:

[Maeva] The news conference started with a report on the situation at Bulgarian Television concerning the restriction of journalists freedom of expression. Lilyana Grozdanova's spectacular removal from the screen was cited as an example. Two other employees there, Asen Agov and Boyko Stankushev, were reportedly threatened with similar sanctions.

Concern was expressed by the Podkrepa Labor Confederation about the future of those working in this important national institution in connection with the forthcoming negotiations on labor contracts and the lack of trade union structures in television.

It was announced that 54 territorial, regional, and trade union structures of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation have announced requests for the resignations of Chairman Ognyan Saparev.

Mr. Zarkov, one of Podkrepa's experts in charge of examining the working conditions in television, reported on Mr. Saparev's refusal to provide the documents requested and on his rude behavior toward the representatives of the Confederation.

The reasons for the request concerning Mr. Danov's resignation were described in the following manner: Extreme incompetence, failure to complete the reorganization of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and last but not least, his demands for additional resources for the ministry without bothering to look for internal reserves. It was pointed out that expensive equipment is idle in the foreign travel passports department, while money is wasted on the wages of employees who could be replaced by computers.

It was also mentioned that former socialist big shots—I am quoting—retain their diplomatic passports. No names were mentioned, for the sake of preserving social peace.

The reporters who asked for details on this matter were advised to contact the Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Pictures were shown again to provide evidence for the beating of a 12-year-old girl by a policeman, and a video cassette was mentioned which clearly showed the beating of deputies on hunger strike. The video was not shown, because of the lack of video technical equipment, Mr. Trenchev explained.

We do not attack Aleksandur Karakachanov as leader of the Green Party and we have nothing against his party. We demand the resignation of Mayor Karakachanov, Oleg Chulev stated. He added that expressions such as I forbid, and I ban do not exist in trade union legislation, but Mr. Karakachanov is using them.

Another clarification followed: We are not talking about Karakachanov's resignation, but a negative vote of confidence. We request the removal of Mr. Karakachanov as representative of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] from the Provisional Icoal government of Sofia City. His attitude to the hunger strike of the National Assembly deputies was cited as an argument in favor of the request. [passage omitted]

At the end of the news conference certain blacklists were mentioned, which the BSP Supreme Council allegedly drafted for the purpose of punishing enemies of the people after the election victory. This is a quotation. Nevertheless, no documents to support this argument were provided.

Podkrepa Forms Defense Ministry Workers Union

AU2607090991 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 23 Jul 91 p 1

[DUMA PRESS report: "Podkrepa Penetrates the Troops as Well"]

[Text] On 21 July, the "Defense" Federation ["Federatsiya 'Otbrana'"] was established under the Podkrepa Labor Confederation. According to the announcement at the federation's constituent conference, it is a trade union organization of military workers and employees in the units and firms of the Ministry of Defense and of workers employed in the defense industry.

The conference adopted a statute and elected the federation's leadership. A general agreement between the federation, the Ministry of Defense, and the Ministry of Industry, Trade, and Services has been drafted that will be submitted for signature by the official state institutions.

Former Communist Party Property Redistributed

LD2607023491 Prague CTK in English 2022 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Prague July 25 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Cabinet today decreed that 1,204,000 million crowns' (40,133 million USD) [figures as received] worth of former Communist Party-owned property be distributed by August 31 to the Czech and Slovak Republics to be used for humanitarian purposes.

Deputy Finance Minister Jaroslav Jurecka said roughly 39 per cent of the total property holdings, including publishing houses and other businesses, belonged to the Central Committee of the Czech Communist Party and 61 per cent to the corresponding body of the Slovak communists.

Seizing the property was difficult right from the start, said Jurecka, as the 1990 law governing the process was worded imprecisely in its definition of property to be reclaimed and the way in which it was to be turned over to the state.

Government Approves Completion of Gabcikovo Project

LD2607024291 Prague CTK in English 2029 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Prague July 25 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government today approved the decision of the Slovak Government of July 23 to complete the Slovak part of the waterworks on the Danube at Gabcikovo in spite of Hungary's withdrawal from the project.

The Slovak Government decided to put the dam into provisional operation by October 1992.

The government approved to set up Czechoslovak trade missions in the Soviet cities of Riga, Vladivostok and Novosibirsk. The task of the missions will be to improve mutual information and promote trade. Soviet trade missions will be set up in the Czechoslovak towns of Usti nad Labem, Ostrava and Kosice.

Pittner on Home Guard, Gabcikovo Demonstrations

LD2507222391 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Interview with Slovak Interior Minister Ladislav Pittner by Michal Ivarozka on 25 July; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Pittner] As far as the issue of the home guard is concerned, I would like to say that this question was discussed marginally at various informal discussions, both in the previous and current government; furthermore, as chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] and present Prime Minister Carnogursky said, the issue was also discussed marginally within the KDH. The thing is that the internal political development in Slovakia, and especially the development in the neighboring eastern countries, is sufficiently unclear. What could happen in Slovakia, for instance, is that a certain social tension that can be detected here and that could culminate—and various parties and movements make their own forecasts about so-called unrests in the autumn—in such unrests that could grow into such large-scale phenomena, either by acts of vandalism or by generally disturbing public order. These may lead to criminal acts on a large scale with which the police might not be able to cope. Equally, should there be illegal crossings through our territory or into our territory on a large scale, and should such refugees flood our towns and villages, a situation could equally arise where the strength of the current police force might not be able to deal with that kind of situation adequately.

[Tvarozka] On the other hand, Minister, we possess a regular Army that could help in such instances.

[Pittner] The thing is, of course, and here lies the misunderstanding in the public that I believe will have to be removed, that the Army is here to protect our borders against an attack by hostile forces from outside. Just as in the United States, where no one doubts the effectiveness of the U.S. police and the U.S. Army, individual U.S. states have their own National Guards whose main purpose is to tackle problems arising from internal unrest.

[Tvarozka] In the United States, democratic traditions have deep roots, while we are only searching for our own form of democracy.

[Pittner] True, we are not as yet a strong democratic country, and this is why it is important to protect this emerging democracy and defend it by all lawful means. It is for this very reason that I believe that it is truly worthwhile to clarify to ourselves whether it would not be a good thing to prepare such a law in advance, and should it then be needed, it could be activated without any mistakes arising that, of course, could arise.

[Tvarozka] You are, therefore, indicating that such a bill could make an appearance at the autumn session of the Slovak National Council?

[Pittner] Personally, I believe that such a situation is apparently not so hot as yet that such a bill needs to be proposed in the Slovak National Council in two months' time. Nonetheless, I do not exclude the possibility that such a bill may turn out to become very topical and could necessitate the drafting of such a bill, as Prime Minister Carnogursky has said, in line and following agreements with both the Czech and Federal Government.

[Tvarozka] Public feeling was aroused recently by your role in demonstrations in Gabcikovo.

[Pittner] The reality is that for almost 15 days the police did not take part in the events that occured there, and it

was evident during those 15 days that demonstrators, who invaded the construction site, put their own lives and their own safety in danger by lying in front of lorries or by hanging onto them and onto excavators and the like. When the police then intervened, its role was to prevent demonstrators from making unauthorized entries into areas where entry is forbidden and to prevent injuries because of the work going on there. That was the main reason.

[Tvarozka] Conflicts nonetheless occurred.

[Pittner] In my view, such conflicts have been unnecessarily dramatized recently, mainly untruthfully. Members of the police force have so far managed to deal with the situation without having to resort to any means apart from persuasion. When members of the public were detained equally, no excessive force was used and only moderate means were employed in accordance with the law on the police force, and only when a member of the public resisted detention. Such a resistance was thwarted by using a clutching technique in bringing such persons under control.

[Tvarozka] Do you think, Minister, that such intervention was necessary and required, despite the fact that you have said that from the viewpoint of safety and the like it was necessary? It was still a rather harsh action.

[Pittner] I reject the allegation of harsh action. It was an action designed to keep order and was necessary because no work could be carried out at the construction site in Gabcikovo. From this viewpoint, action was most timely and most necessary.

[Tvarozka] According to your information, what is the situation in Gabcikovo today?

[Pittner] According to information I received this morning, peace has generally prevailed there. Demonstrators, if there are any, are few. There are between 10 and 20 people there, although a large scale demonstration is being prepared over the weekend. Provided such a demonstration takes place within the law, the police have no reason to intervene. Should it however result in an intrusion and should an areas where work is going on be flooded, then the police will intervene.

Dubcek's Role After Break With VPN Examined

AU2507122791 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 24 Jul 91 p 2

[Ivan Hoffman commentary: "What To Expect from Dubcek"]

[Text] Alexander Dubcek's recent announcement about his parting with the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement has appeared in the headlines of Slovak dailies and has been the subject of several domestic political commentaries. It provides us with the first opportunity to ponder—one year after the elections and one year before the next elections—Alexander Dubcek's possible future role on the Slovak political scene.

Let us begin by saying that Alexander Dubcek was not in the past, and is not today, the type of politician who would directly initiate political processes. His attitudes and positions in both 1968 and 1989 only sanctioned processes that were irreversible (regardless of whether this concerned, prior to August 1968, the sanctioning of reform socialist steps or, after August 1968, the sanctioning of first normalization steps). Among A. Dubcek's political merits is more his instinct on how society will react than his will to push a movement in a certain direction. It has always been Dubcek's charisma to unite the rulers and the ruled [sentence as published]. Both in 1968 and in 1989, this image as a unifier brought him, apart from great popularity, also discreet silence about his communist past. By virtue of his being a politician-unifier, it is not customary to criticize A. Dubcek either for his work in the communist apparatus in the fifties, for his capitulation in August 1968, or for his 20 years of silence in the face of the persecution of people defying the communist regime. A. Dubcek, as a symbol of a well-intentioned man who falls victim to circumstances that are stronger than his good resolutions, has become not only a national, but also an international, legend and myth—a legend and myth that is untarnishable.

We proceed from the premise that, just as he did not have any political concept in 1968 apart from his charisma as a unifier, A. Dubcek does not have any specific political concept even today. Rather, it could be said that he is facing a specific political dilemma. On the one hand, he knows that the process of differentiation of society will come to an end, and his unifying charisma will become relevant again. On the other hand, in the long term he must be prepared to face the fact that, with the assertion of multi-party democracy, the need for unifiers will disappear, and he will, therefore, have to join someone if he is to stay in politics.

A. Dubcek's current departure from the VPN is not only a result of the electoral prospects of the movement that had delegated him to his present posts, prospects that are not very bright today. It is necessary to realize that never after November 1989 did Dubcek succeed in indoctrinating the VPN with reform communism and that the VPN never proclaimed the spring of 1968 as the ideological source of November 1989.

According to public opinion polls, A. Dubcek is still the second most popular politician in Slovakia, and given that, in the next elections, citizens will apparently vote for personalities rather than for political programs, a political struggle for Dubcek's favor can be expected. Vladimir Meciar, for example, will gladly renounce his confederative extravaganza (which, moreover, has not met with unanimous reaction in the Slovak public) [if it will help him gain Dubcek's support]. On the other hand, A. Dubcek knows that, next to Meciar, one can only play second fiddle and that, because of his confrontationist policy, Meciar will not be accepted by the Czech political

representation. Because A. Dubcek hardly aspires to the role of a Slovak president, he will wait for other political partners. It has been apparent for some time now that he will lead his voters not toward democratic socialism but toward social democracy, which would have to undergo transformation according to his ideas. And an important role in Dubcek's ideas is played, on the one hand, by the honors that he receives abroad as representative of a federal Czechoslovakia that is heading towards an open economy and a state based on the rule of law and, on the other hand, by the prospects of electoral success.

The next elections in Slovakia will be successful if no one emerges as the winner from them. And it is realistic to expect such a success. A. Dubcek will hardly offer the votes of his voters to a coalition that will contest the elections under the banner of extreme nationalism. On the other hand, extreme anticommunists have not shown any interest in Alexander Dubcek. But everything else is possible in the matter of Dubcek's commitment [sentence as published].

Two types of politicians profit from the present situation in Slovakia, when society is under the strong pressure of painful economic changes: first, politicians who, acting according to the well-tested Bolshevik example, promise everything to everyone, have an ideal recipe for everyone, and tell everyone exactly what he wants to hear at the moment; and, second, politicians who arouse the trust of the indecisive, distrustful public by being an embodiment of this indecisiveness. To this second category of politicians, politicians who are amiably unable to assume any unequivocal position, belongs A. Dubcek, a symbol of solidarity.

CTK Roundup of Slovak Party Views on Dubcek

LD2607025591 Prague CTK in English 1513 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Bratislava July 25 (CTK)—CTK today asked Slovak political parties and movements with seats in the Federal Assembly (parliament) to make a statement on the Civic Democratic Party's (ODS) demand on Tuesday for Alexander Dubcek to resign from the post of parliament chairman.

The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS—17 deputies in the 300-member parliament), headed by former Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar, said it "condemns" the call for Dubcek's resignation. "The ODS demand contains no serious reasons supporting such a step. We consider this a further attack on democratic principles, an expression of intolerance and a direct assault on people with opinions other than those endorsed by the ODS, the ODA (Civic Democratic Alliance) and other right-wing movements".

The Party of the Democratic Left (SDL—holds a share of the 47 seats occupied by Czech and Slovak Communists combined), formerly the Slovak Communist Party, states: "The SDL expressed its opinion on the removal of Dubcek on May 9, 1991, during the first attempt to unleash such a campaign. We noted Dubcek's positive integrating influence on all of society and his high credit abroad to the benefit of Czechoslovakia".

"The argument that he is not a member of any party or movement in the government coalition necessarily raises the question, for whom do the ODS deputies speak when this party was not elected by the voters?", writes SDL. (The ODS was formed last spring as one of the two successors to the Civic Forum, which was voted into parliament in June 1990—ed.—CTK)

The Slovak National Party (SNS—14 deputies), a party calling for Slovak independence, says: "The ODS evidently wants Slovakia and its representatives to behave ... According to their ideas. Thus they would like to see someone other than Dubcek at the head of parliament. Anyone who does not accept their political shift (to the right—ed.—CTK) and does not go along with it like those who remained in the VPN, becomes undesireble".

x x x

VPN Chairman Jozef Kucerak yesterday told CTK that if Dubcek openly declared himself part of the opposition, "the VPN would not insist he remain as chairman of the Federal Assembly". VPN deputies occupy 34 seats in parliament.

Dubcek said he withdrew from the VPN because of its move towards right-wing policies.

The Christian Democratic Movement (KDH—25 deputies), led by Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky, said today it supported Dubcek as parliament chairman, "despite some ideological differences".

In a CTK survey of Czech parties in parliament taken yesterday, the rightist Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), the Christian-oriented Czechoslovak People's Party (CSL) and the Christian Democratic Party (KDS) all lined up with the ODS.

Rejecting the ODS demand for various reasons were the centre-left Civic Movement (OH), the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM), the Club of Social Democratic-Oriented Deputies (SDO) and the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia (HSD-SMS).

KDH Supports Dubcek as Assembly Chairman

LD2507204391 Prague CTK in English 1157 GMT 25 JUL 91

[Text] Bratislava July 25 (CTK)—The Slovak Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) supports Alexander Dubcek in his post of Czecho-Slovak parliament chairman although it disagrees with him in some ideological issues, KDH secretary Jan Petrik told journalists here today.

Referring to the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) parliamentary group demand that Dubcek should resign,

Petrik said it would be difficult to find a person to replace him. The KDH believes after Dubcek's resignation the parliament might no longer be effective. This is one of the reasons why the KDH supports Dubcek in his current post, Petrik said.

The KDH has not been changing its attitudes, Petrik reacted to discussions on Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky's recent statement that Slovakia wants to be independent around 2000. Slovakia's effort at entering Europe as an independent geopolitical subject does not mean hostility towards the Czech nation, Petrik stated.

Officials Deny Slusovice Investigator Allegations

AU2507153091

[Editorial Report] The Prague dailies LIDOVE NOVINY and OBCANSKY DENIK in Czech on 22 July each publish articles reacting to claims made in an interview published in the Swiss paper WELTWOCHE by Captain Alexej Zak, police investigator appointed in September 1990 to examine financial irregularities at the former Slusovice Agricultural Cooperative. (Zak was subsequently recalled as investigator on the grounds of abuse of power and is reported to be in hiding in Switzerland.) In his interview for WELTWOCHE, Zak is reported to have described the illegal activities of the Slusovice cooperative and cited links between Slusovice and current Czech and federal officials, including Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart, indirectly suggesting that the officials were obstructing the investigation into Slusovice's activities. The two Czech dailies then report negative details of Zak's history and carry denials by some of the officials that they had links with Slusovice.

Prague OBCANSKY DENIK on 22 July on pages 1 and 2, under the headline "Policeman Deserter," carries a 2,000-word "hor"-signed report on the case. Quoting WELTWOCHE, it says Captain Zak's investigation concerned "two areas of activity allegedly concealed by Slusovice:
"1. Smuggling of advanced technology, which could not have been legally imported into the CSFR, while at the same time conducting secret arms exports.
"2. Financial transactions whereby the officials of the Slusovice Agricultural Cooperative transferred assets of the liquidated cooperative to stockholding companies they had founded."

"Of particular interest," WELTWOCHE is quoted as saying, are the foreign deals conducted by Slusovice in cooperation with the First Division of the State Security service, StB.

OBCANSKY DENIK quotes WELTWOCHE as stating that "a close relationship existed between the Slusovice Agricultural Cooperative and the Pokrok Housing Cooperative." According to WELTWOCHE, the housing cooperative, which provided housing for the top brass of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, employed among its lawyers the present Czech Prime Minister Pithart, Deputy Federal Prime Minister Rychetsky, and Czech Republic Prosecutor General Ludvik Brunner.

OBCANSKY DENIK then presents negative information about Zak, quoting from the public security document entitled Decision on Initiating Prosecution dated 9 April 1991. According to this document, Zak had abused his powers as a public official, both in Brno and in Zlin, first to obtain information for his investigation, and then to obtain money for the Beta Cooperative in Brno and for himself.

Contacted by OBCANSKY DENIK for comment, Prime Minister Pithart denies any involvement with Slusovice: "I have never been either an employee or a customer of the Housing Cooperative Pokrok. Nobody will ever be able to prove any connection between myself and Slusovice. The unsubstantiated claims and accusations unfortunately discredit the efforts of those who are really working toward the revelation of the truth about Slusovice to the public and to the appropriate law-enforcement agencies."

Czech Republic Interior Minister Tomas Sokol is also cited on the case. He says "I consider the information provided by Mr. Zak to be absurd and fabricated. If he actually said something in this vein, he evidently lied, and I can only try to guess what his motivation was. It is not true that he is threatened by any danger, and his family even less so." He concludes by saying that it is a fact that Zak is being prosecuted, and he would not say anything more until he has verified that Zak is actually the author of the details published in WELTWOCHE.

Prague LIDOVE NOVINY on 22 July on pages 1 and 16, under the headline "The Slusovice Case in Zurich," carries a 500-word "JaD"- signed report confirming that Captain Zak has left Czechoslovakia and that he had requested information regarding the possibility of political asylum in Switzerland. The author adds that, according to "well-informed sources," Czechoslovakia will probably ask for the extradition of Zak, who is being prosecuted for abuse of power by a public official and blackmail. LIDOVE NOVINY reports biographical details about Zak as published in the Swiss newspaper: "Until the age of 18, Zak had Soviet citizenship, and his parents lived in the USSR for an extended period of time after the war. After coming to Czechoslovakia, Zak studied at a military and police school. Later, he was accepted in the First Administration of the StB, which specialized on the struggle against the 'external enemy.' Captain Zak left StB in 1980, and worked as a criminologist. He left the police service in 1988. Following the November revolution, however, he was called back."

The LIDOVE NOVINY report also responds to the WELTWOCHE disclosure that a "confidential meeting" was held at the Federal Interior Ministry by Interior Minister Langos, his deputy, Ruml, Czech Agriculture Minister Bohuslav Kubat, and Federal Assembly Deputy Stanislav Devaty. It quotes Interior Minister Langos as having told LIDOVE NOVINY that "the meeting was

purely informative in character." Langos denies Zak's allegation that changes were made in the investigative team during the meeting, and that Deputy Ruml ever mentioned Major Kukacka (head of the investigative team, and allegedly former agent of the Fifth Administration of the StB, the secret police).

Deputy Minister Ruml, according to LIDOVE NOVINY, admits that there are rumors that Major Kukacka was employed by the Fifth Administration of the StB, and he adds that this is being investigated.

Slusovice Investigator's Extradition To Be Sought

AU2507175291 Prague CTK in English 1637 GMT 22 Jul 91

[Text] Prague July 22 (CTK)—It has not yet been confirmed whether Captain Alexej Zak, police investigator from Zlin, south Moravia, is in Switzerland, but it is sure he is not at his residence, a spokeswoman for the Czech Ministry of the Interior told CTK today.

Zak was the main source of information for the Swiss weekly WELTWOCHE which last week published an article on the "Slusovice case". According to the weekly, Zak is hiding with his family in Switzerland, fearing that his life is in jeopardy in Czechoslovakia.

Applying Western methods of management, the Slusovice farming cooperative was exceptionally prosperous under the former communist regime. Since the November 1989 revolution, which deposed the communists, an affair has developed around Slusovice, and an investigation into the "Slusovice case" was opened. It is claimed that the cooperative's prosperity stemmed from links with communist leaders.

In September 1990, Zak was appointed investigator of the case, but in March 1991 he was recalled for the alleged abuse of power by a public official for which he has been investigated by the Czech Ministry of the Interior.

The ministry's spokeswoman told CTK that Switzerland has not yet confirmed whether Zak applied for asylum.

Unofficial sources said Zak applied for asylum in the past few days, but his request was denied.

The responsible authorities today rejected the allegation by Zak published in the WELTWOCHE weekly that Slusovice employees smuggled weapons, including the plastic explosive Semtex abroad via the Ostrava-Mosnov military airport.

CTK learned today from a source close to the airport's command that such a transport would never be possible from the military part of the airport.

Any suspicion of weapons smuggling was also rejected today by Vladimir Krten, director of the civilian part of the Ostrava-Mosnov airport.

Vladimir Roubicek, chairman of the housing cooperative Pokrok, refuted another claim by Zak who said that Czech Premier Petr Pithart had personal contacts with Slusovice when he worked for Pokrok. Roubicek said that Pokrok had never employed Pithart. This is also true of Czech Prosecutor General Ludvik Brunner, also named by Zak as a Pokrok employee.

As for Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Pavel Rychetsky, also mentioned by Zak as a one-time Pokrok employee, Roubicek said Rychetsky did work for Pokrok as head of the organizational and legal department in the years 1977-1990. Rychetsky, however, was not available for comment. He is currently on holiday in France.

Roubicek said Slusovice had never worked with Pokrok and had never received any order for material from the housing cooperative.

CTK has not obtained comment on another statement by Zak concerning Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Vaclav Vales whom he named as an agent of the former secret police StB. The head of Vales' secretariat told CTK Vales is still out of work for health reasons. Last week, Vales was admitted into the coronary unit of a Prague hospital.

Colonel Miroslav Krizenecky, Czechoslovak chief military prosecutor, told CTK today that "as soon as it is confirmed that Captain Alexej Zak has emigrated to Switzerland, the military prosecution will ask for a warrant for Zak's arrest to be issued".

Afterwards, it will ask Switzerland through diplomatic channels to extradite him, Krizenecky added.

Zak is charged with abuse of power by a public official and blackmail. Krizenecky said Zak was acquainted with the results of the investigation of his case on June 11.

Zak is still employed with the police and his illegal departure from Czechoslovakia would be tantamount to desertion, Krizenecky said. He added that other police officers allegedly assisted him in the flight.

Entrepreneurs' Chairman on Entering Next Elections

AU2607094891 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Jul 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Rudolf Baranek, chairman of the Association of Czechoslovak Entrepreneurs in the Czech Republic, by Kamila Jaskova; place and date not given: "We Do Not Consider the Left Wing To Be a Scourge"—first paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Excerpt] The Association of Czechoslovak Entrepreneurs in the Czech Republic, which has been a member of EUROPMI (European Society of Small and Medium-Sized Companies) since June, recently announced that it has decided to campaign in the legislative elections. We interviewed the Association's chairman, Rudolf Baranek, on this intention:

[Jaskova] Your decision was surprising because, until now, you not only presented yourselves as independent, but also as politically impartial. What induced you to enter into the political arena?

[Baranek] We are independent and politically impartial, but we can no longer allow ourselves to be apolitical. The situation in this country compelled us to take the decision to campaign in the elections. If it was not for our association, or the association representing Slovak entrepreneurs, no one would plead the private entrepreneurs' cause to the extent necessary. Fortunately, we have already attained a certain position for ourselves by tenacious jousting. Although all the political parties and movements declare that they support private enterprise, this support is just verbal. Saying is one thing, and doing is another. All we get is mere declarations—from the Castle down. If I were to express in one word the conditions for conducting private enterprise, I would have to say: Appalling!

[Jaskova] Where are the greatest problems?

[Baranek] We are constantly pointing out that the scenario for economic reform is not being adhered to, but it seems that no one is bothered by this. At the same time, entrepreneurs conducting enterprises under district conditions are, in many cases—so to speak—powerless and godforsaken. Bureaucracy and the "old guard" still present insurmountable barriers that can only be successfully vanquished—to a great extent—by our district associations and by the regional chambers of the Union of Moravian-Silesian Entrepreneurs.

[Jaskova] Do you think that the situation will change after your entry into politics?

[Baranek] We are convinced of this. After all, we are already a large political force—not only because we have 112,000 members in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia—including private agriculturists. The decision to enter the elections was taken "at the bottom" and not in the center. There is simply a need to get non-bureaucrats who are knowledgeable about our affairs into the town halls, legislatures, and governments. We do not want a "Munich" situation to arise, in which our business would be discussed without our participation.

[Jaskova] Will you enter the elections on your own, or as part of a coalition?

[Baranek] We still do not know at the moment. However, we are well aware of who is who, and we know the processes going on in individual political parties. Therefore, it brings a smile to our faces when, for example, a new party is established—albeit with a renowned leader—and has, perhaps, 20,000 or 30,000 members and immediately indicates that it is the most powerful force in the Czech Republic. Of course, this does not have any affect on us. Our policy will not be to compete for the favor of the political parties. On the contrary, they have to compete for our favor—and not by words alone.

[Jaskova] Since the last elections you have been in a free coalition with the Christian and Democratic Union [KDU]. Does this mean that the KDU still enjoys most of your support?

[Baranek] Although the KDU has done rather a lot for us, it does not have any hereditary right to us. On the other hand, it is necessary to take into consideration the fact that there are many believers among entrepreneurs. Of the right-wing parties, the Civic Democratic Alliance and the Civic Democratic Party are being given some consideration—with the reservation I already mentioned. A practical policy, and not just big words, will dazzle us. At the same time, both these parties have a number of sympathetic traits; however, they will have to strive very hard for a possible coalition with us. Moreover, in Moravia we could form a coalition with the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy—Society for Moravia and Silesia, although I feel that around the time of the elections a process similar to the one in the Civic Forum could take place there. Of course, this is a force in which we have rather a lot of faith, particularly the Moravian entrepreneurs. [passage omitted]

Foreign Affairs Spokesman on Treaty With Germany

AU2607113291 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 24 Jul 91 p 3

["ji"-signed interview with Egon Lansky, spokesman of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs; place and date not given: "When the Chancellor Decides"—first paragraph is LIDOVE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] The Swiss paper NEUE ZURCHER ZEITUNG wrote recently that the talks between the Federal Republic of Germany and Czechoslovakia regarding a bilateral agreement reached a deadlock. The German press also expands upon the issue, particularly on how some Sudeten circles have constantly brought political pressure to bear on Chancellor Kohl and proclaimed new demands. RUDE PRAVO, on the other hand, believes that the Czechoslovak side is too accommodating to German requests and does not inform our public about the state of the talks. Therefore, our correspondent paid a visit to Egon Lansky, spokesman of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and asked him several questions:

[LIDOVE NOVINY] What can you tell us about the current state of the German-Czechoslovak talks?

[Lansky] It is not correct to speak of a deadlock. Let us say, for instance, that after four rounds of talks between experts, our views were passed on to the German side, and the German side apparently considers it necessary in the present situation to leave the decision and the final assessment of the stands to Chancellor Kohl. As soon as the decision is made, and the German side states it, the next round can take place. If we reach an agreement, the entire text will be wrapped up.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] What controversial points remain to be settled?

[Lansky] There are basically three unresolved issues. The first concerns Munich [agreement of 1938]. Recently, we signed a treaty with Italy that states unequivocally that both sides consider the Munich agreement invalid from the very beginning. In the negotiations with Germany, this point is even more important to us because, although Mussolini attended the Munich meeting, the issue is essential for both Czechoslovakia and Germany. We understand that some difficulties over the formulation will arise on the German side, in view of the decrees by the Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe that were issued while talks were being held with [then FRG Chancellor] Willy Brandt as long ago as 1973. A new formulation will have to be found, but I assure you that it is definitely not a political problem. It involves some constitutional and legal angles, and it is necessary to find a way to deal with that. The problem is psychological and legal in nature rather than political. The second problem is in the formulation of the article on the current ethnic minorities on both sides. Not much has been said on the topic so far because there were more important issues to be dealt with. Acceptable formulations will certainly be found. The third point is the closing of the chapter of wrongs done in the past on the inter-state level. I emphasize this to make it clear that the fates of individuals cannot be resolved by signing a treaty. This concerns all victims of Nazism and those who lost their property. It also pertains to the problem of Sudeten Germans who were relocated, or, as one now can say in Czechoslovakia, expelled. This is a painful issue that will require a fast political decision.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Do you believe that such a political decision will actually be made?

[Lansky] The simple fact is that the political representatives of free Germany and of free Czechoslovakia decided that they have to start working anew on building neighborly relations and according to their principles. This beginning and the future of these relations must be anchored in some agreement. It will not be possible without a political decision by the German side; the nature of that decision depends on them. We do not conceal the fact that no settlement of property claims is ever ideal. This applies also to the restitution law criticized by our compatriots [abroad]. In many ways, they are right. The law hurts Sudeten Germans as much as it does our compatriots in America. Every restitution law is unfair. It always depends on how high we set our target. Back to 1948, as this law goes, or to 1945, or even 1918? We will never satisfy everybody. We chose the year 1948 to be able to revive private-ownership relations quickly by placing the assets in the hands of those who live here. Even so, we will have difficulties, but we would go bankrupt if we used any other method. We cannot go any further.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Will the proposal not to mention these controversies in the treaty and only list them in an accompanying letter be acceptable for the German side?

[Lansky] I have no idea how we will handle this, but we must do it somehow.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] In your opinion, is there a chance that the German-Czechoslovak treaty will be signed in the foreseeable future?

[Lansky] Both sides were interested in having it done as soon as possible. We had hoped that it would be before the summer. Now, we would be happy if it were signed before the fall. The treaty is too important to do a rush job on it. It is supposed to express the new relationship between our nations at present and in the future.

Correction to Klaus on Agriculture Reform Problems

AU2507153591

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Klaus Outlines Problems in Agricultural Reform," published in the 25 July East Europe DAILY REPORT, pages 22 and 23:

Column two, second paragraph, second sentence, make read: ...clear and is convulsed by the disputes about the.... (rephrasing);

Column two, third paragraph, third sentence, make read: ...we say that the price elasticity of demand.... (supplying missing word "price");

Page 23, column one, fifth paragraph, third sentence, make read: ...that will not, however, subsidize the domestic market but will only alleviate.... (supplying missing word "not").

Jeszenszky on Upcoming Pentagonale Meeting

AU2607101591 Budapest MTI in English 0734 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Budapest, 25 July (MTI)—During the summit meeting of Pentagonale, to be held in Dubrovnik this weekend, the organization will turn into a six-member Hexagonale through the admission of Poland, in addition to Italy, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Yugoslavia, Geza Jeszenszky, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, said in an interview with NEPSZABADSAG.

Participants in the Dubrovnik conference will be looking for possibilities of making progress primarily in the area of economic and infrastructural ventures. The financial background is secured, if not completely, partly through the involvement of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

"I feel that the Dubrovnik meeting could act as a kind of brake for the Yugoslav events. It might somewhat ease the crisis there, with its positive outcome proving the Pentagonale process viable.

"I see economic development as the solution to the problems of the region as a whole, since the source of tension often lies in poverty. Shooting is unfitted to resolve either economic or political problems," Jeszenszky said.

With regard to his last week's visit to the United States, the foreign minister said that the principal aims of the two countries in respect of Yugoslavia were always identical, both advocating the need for a peaceful political compromise. ".... Many believe that we deal with the affair of the Hungarian minorities with unfortunate, though understandable, one-sidedness." ".... We are aware that the Hungarian is not the sole minority in the region. The related problems can be felt to a lesser extent in farther countries. I don't say that from now on the Americans will listen to us in everything, but I am certain that they will be paying more attention to our opinion than before," Geza Jeszenszky said in an interview with NEPSZABADSAG.

Foreign Ministry Receives Slovene Representatives

LD2607032791 Budapest MTI in English 1931 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Budapest, July 25 (MTI)—According to information given to MTI by the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, Deputy State Secretary Imre Szokai has received the representatives of the Slovenian settlements of Korogy, Haraszti, Szentlaszlo and Retfalu. On behalf of all Hungarians and the Mayor of Vinkovci Tihomir Zovak, the representatives informed the Hungarian Government of developments in the region and the situation of Hungarians living there.

They said they were living in constant uncertainty and fear, and were exposed to armed provocation. At the same time, they thanked the Hungarian Government for all it had done to protect them, requesting that in future as well it take all political steps possible to guarantee the security, and the individual and collective rights, of Hungarians in the region. They said that in the present situation they considered it of prime importance that the observer team of the European Communities currently staying in Yugoslavia extend its activities to Croatia too.

Imre Szokai has given an account of the great efforts made by the Hungarian Government of late to try to reach a peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav crisis and to protect Hungarians living there. He said the efforts had been stimulated by the government's sense of responsibility for Hungarians beyond the borders of the Republic of Hungary. "We trust that Yugoslavia's federal authorities and those of the republics are doing their best to fulfil the requests of the Hungarian population," he said.

Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky has passed on to Holland, as the current EC presidency-holder, the requests of the Hungarians in four Slovenian settlements that the EC observer team currently in Yugoslavia extend its activities to Croatia, including the Hungarian settlements.

Imre Szokai has summoned Yugoslav Ambassador to Budapest Rudi Sova and officially passed on to him the request of the four Hungarian settlements concerning the guarantees of their rights. At the same time, he asked for an explanation regarding the matter of an interview given by the director of the Yugoslav customs office Radoslav Sekulic to the Bulgarian daily 'DUMA', given that its allegations are groundless, Szokai said.

Szokai asked for official information on the language law passed by the Serbian House of Representatives, stressing that, should the 5th clause in fact regulate the minorities, use of language, as press reports have claimed it will, then Hungary is of the view that this is at variance with the spirit of all CSCE documents.

Katona on Danube Project, New Serbian Law

LD2507105291 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 0530 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Studio interview with Tamas Katona, state secretary for foreign affairs, by unidentified reporter—live]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] Our guest is the state secretary for foreign affairs, Tamas Katona. Good morning! I would like to talk to you about several subjects. Let us start with the dam [on the Danube].

What can we do now, when it looks like the Slovak Government will unilaterally continue to meet the contract that was signed in the 1970's.

[Katona] We do not know exactly what the Slovak Government intends to do. There has been a declaration;

we will see what is behind this. This does not indicate that they are starting to divert the Danube, but they are talking about certain steps to put it into operation. It is not possible to ascertain what exactly they are thinking about. Then, in September, as we had agreed, we will be returning to these questions.

So in my view, we have to wait quietly. We have to say that the Hungarian negotiating team, from a rather impossible position, has won agreement to listen to expert opinions. We feel we are right about the dam and that we can support with environmental arguments why it would be extremely dangerous to put into operation this entire project.

[Reporter] I read somewhere that the Slovak Government will consider the views of Slovak experts to be authoritative. To what extent does this mean a wider range of views from a group close to the Slovak Government?

[Katona] The Slovak position does mention listening to the views of Slovak environmentalists, and they have just met with representatives of Euro-Chain. This does not exclude the possibility that we can reach some sensible solution. It is, therefore, important that we review the situation when the legislature starts work again. The chance of finding a mutually-acceptable solution is still not excluded.

[Reporter] What could be a diplomatic route for stating a position or argument? We have heard that the Hungarian Government will, in a given situation, take the necessary steps.

[Katona] If this given situation is presented, if indeed the Slovak Government—and we must not forget, there is no point talking about Czechoslovakia or Slovakia—the Czechoslovak Federal Government trusted the Slovak prime minister to conduct these negotiations.... [changes thought]

We will see what kind of steps the Slovak Government will take. If, indeed, they are really trying to divert the Danube on Slovak territory, then this is the diversion of a border river—it is not without consequences. Then there would be various retributions, various negotiating possibilities. We hope these will not become necessary. Naturally, we have to be prepared for such a situation as well.

[Reporter] So the situation is open, and there will be new negotiations in September?

[Katona] It is a great achievement that no impatient, one-sided Slovak step has been taken, and the road is open for further negotiations when the legislatures meet again.

[Reporter] The second subject is Yugoslavia. [passage omitted] One matter concerning Hungary is the decision by the Serbian Assembly that Hungarian names cannot be used in Vojvodina. Can a Hungarian statement on this be expected? What is the view of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs on this?

[Katona] Unfortunately, in certain countries of Europe, there is a splendid marching back to the beginning of the nineteenth century. This rampant nationalism and dreadful narrow-mindedness is incomprehensible.

I find it ridiculous that countries believe they are defending their sovereignty by forbidding shop or street signs from using the language of minorities. [passage omitted] We will continue to use nationality names next to Hungarian names at places inhabited by minorities. [passage omitted] We already went through this 150 to 180 years ago.

[Reporter] So, tomorrow at the summit the Hungarian Government does not wish to have some Hungarian-Yugoslav dialogue?

[Katona] This was not a Yugoslav step. It was a step by the Serbian Republic, or by Vojvodina—a foolish step let us add. [passage omitted] Such things are not done at the end of the twentieth century.

[Reporter] Thank you, Tamas Katona, for coming here.

Walesa Willing To Use Force To Save Country

LD2507145191 Warsaw PAP in English 1140 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Warsaw, July 25—"If I was to face anarchy, or widespread strikes, if the situation turned out dramatic, I would have to rely on force to save the country," President Lech Walesa was quoted as saying by a Warsaw paper on Thursday.

On Wednesday Walesa made a phone call to the SZTANDAR MLODYCH daily after he had read a commentary on the affair linked with Maciej Zalewski, secretary of state in the Presidential Chancellery accused by the press of making alleged suggestions during a recent visit to the U.S. about a possibility to introduce a state of emergency in Poland in case of an economic collapse. The article ended in a question whether the president knew all about it.

To this Walesa answered: "I will fight alone against everybody to save the country. I could be on the verge of anarchy but I would never let anarchy break out. If a question about a possibility of introducing the state of emergency ever arose in the U.S., I can answer it now: Yes, I would do this if I was to save the country. But may I never have to do this."

In reply to fears concerning the illegal character of such activities Walesa declared that he did not want to do anything that might have a negative impact on democracy as he felt himself to be the president responsible for historical continuity. Speaking about this, Walesa made a reference to the National Security Council about which Zalewski had allegedly said that it might replace democratic institutions if the need arose. The president stated that the council was not a structure whose operations might not conform to the law.

Commenting on Lech Walesa's statement for SZTANDAR MLODYCH published Thursday, president's spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski said that "the president, as he often underlines, wants to abide by law."

"However, the situation in Poland is such that on our road to democracy we often find ourselves almost on the verge of anarchy. There is a danger that democracy can be undermined, destroyed. In such situations—let us pray they will never occur—the president will never let anarchy prevail in the country. Under such circumstances he would use his constitutional rights," the president's spokesman said.

Asked what sort of threats would result from the president's decision to resort to force, Drzycimski said that "at present there are no premises for making such decisions."

"The president underlines that every politician must be able to foresee all possible variants, even the worst ones. A politician who does not do that shrinks responsibility in dramatic situations. (In his statement) the president spoke of responsibility. But this does not mean an anouncement of an emergency state nor a martial law," Drzycimski said.

Also today, Drzycimski reiterated his earlier statement that if only any materials were available testifying to the fact that Secretary of State Maciej Zalewski transgressed his ministerial powers while in Washington, the president would not hesitate to draw proper conclusions.

He added that the so-called Zalewski scandal has been artificially blown up to indirectly attack the president.

Poll Results on Walesa, Bielecki Confidence

LD2607055291 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1730 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] To the question: What has happened in Poland over the past two years?, 34 percent of those taking part in an OBOP [Public Opinion Research Center] poll answered that new authorities had replaced the communists, but nobody yet knew what it would lead to. In the opinion of 23 percent, a new dictatorship under the Solidarity banner had taken the place of communism. According to 22 percent, the same people as before were ruling behind the backs of the new authorities. Eleven percent thought that democracy was arising in place of the communist dictatorship.

To the question: How do you assess Lech Walesa's policy as president?, 3 percent of those polled replied very good. The prime minister achieved the same result. Seventeen percent assess the president's policy as on balance good; 26 percent assess the prime minister the same. Forty-six percent of those polled replied that they assessed Lech Walesa's policy as good and bad in parts. Forty-one percent gave this assessment of Prime Minister Bielecki's policy.

Nineteen percent of those polled assess the president's policy as on balance bad; the prime minister's policy is assessed thus by 15 percent.

The president's policy is very bad: That is the assessment of 11 percent of those polled. Four percent of those polled assess the prime minister's policy thus.

Thirty-three percent of those polled are ready to support an organization whose main task would be to support the president in his policy; 35 percent refuse support for such an organization. Twenty percent of those polled on this were indifferent. Twelve percent didn't know.

Forty percent of those polled are ready to support an organization whose main task would be to support the prime minister in his policy; 24 percent would not support it; 21 percent are indifferent; 15 percent don't know.

Poll Shows Skubiszewski Most Popular Politician

LD2607082191 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1730 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] The most popular Polish politician is Krzysztof Skubiszewski. This is what the results of a poll taken for the weekly WPROST show. The next places in the ranking were taken by Jacek Kuron and Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Fourth place is taken by Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, fifth by Lech Walesa, sixth by Bronislaw Geremek, and seventh by Leszek Balcerowicz. Marian Krzaklewski, Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, and Zbigniew Bujak were also in the top 10. Roman Bartoszcze opens the next 10, followed by Alfred Miodowicz, Stanislaw Tyminski, and Jaroslaw Kaczynski.

Interior Minister Denies Revealing Security List

LD2607034991 Warsaw PAP in English 1601 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Warsaw, July 25—Poland's Internal Minister Henryk Majewski denied at the Sejm (lower house) meeting here on Thursday that the internal Ministry acquainted Presidential Chancellory Chief Jaroslaw Kaczynski with a list of names of former security service members.

The allegation was made by the Democratic Union parliamentary floor group.

Peasant Movement To Form Electoral Coalition

LD2607034191 Warsaw PAP in English 2048 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Warsaw, July 25—The national electoral committee of the Peasant movement confirmed Thursday its willingness to run in the parliamentary elections within the framework of a firm peasant agreement.

The coalition, which now relies on the Solidarity of Private Farmers (NSZZ ri Solidarnosc) and the Polish Peasant Party Solidarity (PSL Solidarnosc), is open for other organizations willing to form common lists of electoral candidates on a partner-like basis, head of electoral staff Andrzej Luszczewski said.

Meanwhile, chairman of the main council of the National Union of Farmers, Farmers Circles and Organizations Janusz Maksymiuk told a press conference Thursday that farmers circles were going to join the peasant electoral coalition, if divergence between PSL Solidarnosc and NSZZ ri Solidarnosc on the one hand and the PSL Peasant Party—on the other, was removed, otherwise the union would form its own list of candidates. The final decision is to be taken on Friday.

The PSL leadership, however, backed out of the peasant alliance Thursday and announced its plans to set up a nationwide election committee named "PSL-Programmatic Alliance". The party has pledged to acknowledge the alliances negotiated by local PSL branches, though.

Meanwhile, acting chairman of the so called "Mikolajczyk" Polish Peasant Party Henryk Bak said Thursday that the party would form local electoral coalitions with all political groups that it had cooperated with so far. The party was ready to participate in the work of the national electoral committee of the Peasant Movement but only on partner-like principles, Bak added.

OPZZ Leaders Interviewed on Objectives

PM2507150891 Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 19 Jul 91 p 8

[Interview with National Trade Union Accord (OPZZ) Chairman Alfred Miodowicz and Deputy Chairwoman Ewa Spychalska, by Andrzej Bars; place and date not given]

[Text] [Bars] Well, here is the question: What does the OPZZ want?

[Miodowicz] We want a chance to realize our supreme goals, which are formulated, beside other concerns, in the convention of the United Nations International Labor Organization, in the Polish constitution, and in our trade unions act. We are chiefly concerned with three fundamental goals: protection of the rights of employees while they are engaged in the manufacture of specified goods and values in their enterprises; employees' participation in the management of enterprises and institutions—especially to ensure that the remuneration for work involved in the production of these goods and values is distributed fairly; and employee welfare protection for workers and their families. Since our inception we have consistently fought to attain these goals. Perhaps this is why today we are the largest of all organizations currently active in Poland, whether they be unions or public, economic, political, or cultural bodies.

[Spychalska] Throughout the past three months we have noted yet another mass influx of members. At present our organization embraces 4 million members and contains 127 union federations...

[Bars] Correction: 126! This is because the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions announced its decision to leave the OPZZ a few weeks ago, on 18 June.

[Miodowicz] The story behind this decision is a long and complex one. As early as last January the mining federation authorities decided to suspend their OPZZ membership. Following our talks with them, they came back to the OPZZ last March. In June they decided to leave. According to the OPZZ statute, the decisions will become binding after three months. In other words, they will only leave 18 September—provided that there is no change of decision again.

[Spychalska] Miners believe that the OPZZ movement has an insufficiently flexible organizational structure to ensure that structural and personnel changes are made quickly and efficiently, and that is why they have been

pressing for an early congress to be convened as soon as possible. We hold the view that we should prepare ourselves properly for such an event first. This is the reason why we decided not to convene the congress until June next year.

[Bars] Are the demands to introduce organizational and personnel changes the only ones stipulated by the Federation of Miners Trade Unions?

[Spychalska] No. The principal and most important demand is that the OPZZ's work show more effectiveness. But you should note that over the past two years no other trade union can claim any significant successes either. There have been only small, fragmentary achievements, which are not noted for changing the public mood in any significant way or for boosting people's hopes.

[Bars] What are the main causes of this situation?

[Miodowicz] In trying to answer your question we should confine ourselves to taking a good look at just one significant example. Well, on 25 June this year we began yet another successive round of talks with the government. We were particularly interested in three "packages" of matters connected with the economy, provision of social welfare protection for the population, and questions of legislative order in the state. As regards the first of these packages, we asked to be acquainted with the content of the government's decisions as to which sectors were designated to constitute the driving, motive force in the economy, which ones would be given the supportive role, and which ones would be destined to be eliminated because the manufacture of their product was not cost-effective and economically viable. There is no way we can meet the challenge of the present time if we are not informed about such decisions. To give you an example, how can we carry out a rational program to retrain employees in new skills if we do not know which industrial sectors in particular regions will be kept, which will be eliminated, and what new ones will be created? The only reply we received from the government was that they lacked enough detailed information on the subject under discussion, since it would ultimately be the free market which would decide everything in that sphere. Well, this is a drastic example of doctrinaire blindness and lack of concern for the fate of hundreds and thousands of people.

[Spychalska] A similar situation obtains in the case of the social welfare provisions package. We suggested—at the time when the state budget was being decided, that is, back at the beginning of this year—that a social welfare pact be negotiated in order to protect the interests of the population. The government is still not negating the need of such a pact, but neither is it capable of creating a cohesive and comprehensive system of social welfare policy. We are one of the few countries where the lack of such a system is compensated by hurried, improvised solutions and ad hoc emergency actions. Consequently, it is no wonder that such sectors as the health service, education, culture, and the whole sphere of age and disability pensions are all in a state of disintegration or collapse.

[Miodowicz] In addition, complete chaos reigns in Poland in the sphere of legislation. This encourages infringements of the law, manipulative treatment of legal regulations, and a situation whereby superior values are accorded to the "exclusively correct" reasons and interests propounded by the strongest side. Do you want examples? Here they are: The labor code stipulates clearly that as long as the currently obtaining work contracts and regulations governing the principles of wage payments remain unchanged, it is unlawful to pay people for their work with nothing more than advance wage payments, or to force them to take unpaid leave. You need only make a tour of a few factories to see for yourself how often such unacceptable practices are routinely introduced in our country. And anyone bold enough to protest them will be told: If you do not like it, you can leave right away and never come back. And yet the government has neither the concept nor the will to create a legal order which would be clear to all and also easily and unequivocally interpreted by all—in other words, a legal order whereby the law is respected and adhered to. Does the content—which we have broadly sketched for you here—of the three "packages" prepared by us for the talks with the government really attest to "a lack of realism demonstrated by the OPZZ negotiation groups", to quote a statement graciously given by Minister Boni in last Monday's television news program?

[Spychalska] Incidentally, we were denied an opportunity to present our position in the same program.

[Miodowicz] It was not the first time that we have been treated in this way, and I believe it will not be the last. What can we do in a situation like this if we want to conduct effective action? Should we bring about the government's collapse and, following the formation of the successive government team, keep waiting patiently for long months until it in turn becomes acquainted with the situation and realizes what is involved, or should we continue to pursue the policy of small steps? But do we know how much longer our members will agree to the application of such a strategy?

[Bars] On 4 July the OPZZ declared a state of strike readiness. What comes next?

[Spychalska] We have appointed a special leading group which will work out possible models of how the situation could develop. This is being done in consultation with lower-level organizational structures, and in particular with enterprise OPZZ organizations. The group will also consider the ultimate variant, expressed in a "triad" of developments which progresses from strike readiness to partial strike action (involving regional or sector structures) and, finally, to a general strike. However, let me stress that this is the ultimate, emergency variant, because we are well aware that every strike action is detrimental to the welfare of the state and generates fear

and uncertainty about the future among the population. Following the round of talks between the government and the third OPZZ negotiating team, on 17 July the OPZZ Presidium will convene and we will then be able to answer your question of "what next?"

[Bars] The tenor of your comments in our conversation suggests that the government's hands are largely tied by doctrinal considerations. Would it not be advisable to set up an alliance between the OPZZ and Solidarity's National Commission—an alliance entrusted with the specific task of overthrowing these considerations?

[Miodowicz] We are always ready and prepared to engage in constructive cooperation—but not in political skirmishes into which we are being provoked instead. We often refuse to join such skirmishes even in our own defense, so as not to jeopardize our overriding concern: the interests of the working people.

[Bars] Thank you for talking to us.

'Sector Privatization' Concept Announced

AU2607092291 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Jul 91 pp 1, 2

[Staffers' report: "A New Privatization Concept"]

[Text] Minister of Ownership Transformation Janusz Lewandowski informed newsmen on 22 July about the new concept for so-called sector privatization. It concerns the preparation of privatization programs for 34 sectors (they do not, however, correspond to branches) of the economy. Many of them are already being drawn up. Deputy Minister Jacek Siwicki announced that a program for the household chemicals industry will be presented on 24 July and that concepts for the brewing and paper and cellulose sectors will be presented in August.

"That the ministry's new proposal has been presented on 22 July is a pure coincidence," noted Minister Lewandowski, "although the date is associated with decisions that were made in the past and the elimination of the effects of those decisions is what justifies the existence of the Ministry of Ownership Transformation."

Sector privatization is a program that differs from the general privatization program. However, they both have a common element: They both depart from the idea of privatizing enterprises individually, because that approach is too slow for the projected five-year period during which fundamental change in ownership in the economy is to be effected," said J. Lewandowski.

The new concept envisages the preparation of privatization programs for 34 sectors, which would cover a total of 143 enterprises. They include 10 Warsaw plants. This group will no doubt shortly be increased to include 79 state treasury companies and 263 enterprises that were checked during the selection of plants for the general privatization program "400" list. The concepts, which are being prepared by finance consultants (mainly foreign firms), are to include analyses of the condition of individual sectors, and an assessment of their prospects for their expansion as well as concrete privatization and restructuring proposals that take account of the foreign capital involvement in these processes. They are to describe the position of individual plants within each sector, and indicate which are to be privatized and how, and which—at least for a time—should remain state enterprises. They should also indicate those plants for which the best solution would be liquidation.

The consultants must also say whether the privatization of a plant should be preceded by restructuring, where the necessary money should come from, and what level of foreign investment would be desirable.

Minister Lewandowski gave assurances that this did not signify a return to an industry policy and the directing of the economy, but meant "mature reflection preceding ownership decisions whose consequences will last for generations, and that is why they cannot be of an improvised kind."

Losses in Trade With Soviet Union Outlined

LD2607034591 Warsaw PAP in English 1811 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Warsaw, July 25—Poland had to pay 15 trillion zlotys (1.4 billion dlrs) out of the state budget to buy up transfer roubles earned by private companies engaged in trade with the Soviet Union, Deputy Edmund Krasowski told a news conference here Thursday.

The companies in question signed their contracts still before Poland shifted to settling accounts with the Soviet Union in dollars in January, 1991. They mainly exported Western goods paid in dollars to the Soviet Union for which they were paid in transfer roubles. Those in turn were bought by the state.

Some of the companies managed to exchange in Poland over 250 million roubles, Krasowski said and added that when the dealings were noticed last Februury, many companies involved changed addresses and were unavailable.

Government Spokesman Reports on Economy, Trade

AU2507195691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1830 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/7/1991—In its July 24 meeting, the Romanian Government approved the county and local councils election bill, informed Thursday at his press conference government spokesman Mihnea Constantinescu.

The bill is to be examined by the Parliament and, without detailing on it, Mihnea Constantinescu gave a few points of principle with regard to the text: the election of the communal and county administration bodies is to be effected by equal, direct and secret universal vote, the Romanian citizens have the right to election at the age of 18 and to be elected at the age of 23, in the same constituency a party or other political grouping has the right to only one candidature, and so forth.

Referring to Romania's foreign trade, the government spokesman Mihnea Constantinescu told his Thursday, 25 July news conference that although a tendency for export growth was reported in the months of May and June, global results are below the 1990 levels: 83.7 percent for convertible currency and only 46.3 percent for clearing, the situation being caused by the collapse of the COMECON market. In comparison with the situation at the end of last year, the balance with the former socialist countries was reduced from minus 1.1 billion roubles to minus 635 million roubles. Export pay documents issued as of 30 June 1991 total more than 3.1 billion dollars, almost one billion dollars of which should have been paid so far.

The governmental spokesman added that the actions were underway of the present government for old debts to be paid to Romania. The Philippines paid 62 million dollars to Romania, and the action must continue in the period to come. As for imports, they totalled 2.5 billion dollars and 476 roubles over the first six months of 1991. The necessary raw materials were covered as follows: crude, 84 percent, iron ores, 85 percent, all the necessary amount of coking coal and coal for power-production, 54 percent soy beans. Imports of consumer goods totalled 144 million dollars and about 20 million roubles. The imports of consumer good planned for the second half of the year are of 86 million dollars; 143 dollars are allotted for health care for the same period of 1991.

An element for which no comparison can be made is that, over the first six months of 1991, private economic agents exported 2 million roubles and more than 168 million dollars worth of goods. To make things clear once again, Mr. Mihnea Constantinescu mentioned that Romania has no foreign debt whatever at this moment.

The loans such as that given by IMF for supporting the balance of payments, on the basis of a program for restructuring the economy, will turn into foreign debt if the restructuring is not made. At present Romania is an international creditor as it must be paid 3.2 billion dollars by Iraq and other countries.

In point of communications Romania is 15-20 years behind the average West European countries, stated government spokesman Mihnea Constantinescu at his weekly press conference. Referring to a project the government debated in its Wednesday meeting, he informed about a programme worked out in cooperation with the French firm SOFRECOM, showing that it is a modest but realistical programme aiming to bring Romania in the next 15 years to the current West European level. He also said the World Bank assessed it in the positive and decided to finance it.

As for basic services—telephone, telegraph, post, they are to be newly equipped. The interurban and international networks are to be reset, eight territorial digital transit centres are to be installed as well as early 7.2 million telephone lines. The telex lines will be completely telephonized. As for the television, the worn-out equipment of its Channel I will be replaced and Channel II will be generalized across Romania. The radio station will also be modernized. In reference to the programme's financing, the government spokesman specified that the Ministry of Communications would contribute the development funds formed according to the law, and recourse would also be made to domestic banking credits on various terms, external long-term credits guaranteed by the government, to public resources, foreign capital come from joint companies or to leases.

As part of the measures the Romanian Government took for social welfare, there is a proposal for the organization of a work force and unemployment department in the ministry of labour and social welfare, government spokesman Mihnea Constantinescu showed. The government approved the 18th form of the bill regarding employment and the realization of incomes by the handicapped as well as the bill referring to the care and special protection of the handicapped.

The government also discussed several variants for the protection of the ones employed who have children. Solutions are sought for differentiating the reduction of taxes on salary function of the number of children and for granting state benefits. Irrespective of the variants, intention is shown to progressively lower taxes for the persons having several children. Other decisions made by the government refer to the rights of some categories of personnel employed in health units.

The Romanian Government decided to intensify financial control and eliminate the inappropriate use of funds by appointing a representative of the Ministry of the Economy and Finance to all ministries and to the other public administration bodies. It also decided to set up a control department to check up the lawfulness, opportuneness and efficiency of using the budgetary funds allotted and the capital put at the economic agents' disposal, the government spokesman said also informing

the journalists about Premier Petre Roman's initiative for putting an end to corruption and abuses ever more often notified lately. The prime minister proposed the journalists' society to designate eight or nine journalists from various publications to take part, alongside the competent bodies, in investigating the ministers' and other dignitaries' homes, an action developing on the basis of topics suggested by journalists.

Political Changes To Improve Economy Assessed

AU2507180791 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 18 Jul 91 pp 1, 4

[Lucian Tudorancea article: "Cause and Effect"]

[Excerpts] The Romanian economy is going through a stage of false restructuring, false technocratic approaches, false competition, and a false privatization process. The laws of the market are applied only sporadically: The economic mechanism has gotten bogged down because of the counterreform; foreign investors are not coming; massive foreign loans are delayed; there is rampant inflation; strikes are coming one after another; money has evaporated (a financial block, what can you do!); the great privatization process—on the basis of the draft bill put forward by the government—looks like it is going to be a big bluff; and the Land Law is being applied in an improvised manner and according to ... recommendations, and so forth.

The reason for all these wrongs (we don't know how necessary they are) is the incorrect economic strategy of Petre Roman's cabinet. Those in power have proved and continue to prove that they are unable to think in terms of a competing economy that requires private ownership, the liberalization of the labor force and prices, the decentralization of decisionmaking, and correct relations between partners.

According to the government, the explanation for the current bankruptcy of the national economy lies in:
1. The difficult heritage of the Ceausescu regime;
2. People do not do their work, combined with a rapid increase in wages;
3. The inherent difficulties of switching to a market economy;
4. The resistance of former structures against the "implementation" of the reform.

Let us examine these four aspects.

I. It is very true that the "golden era" has impoverished this country. [passage omitted] However, we should not forget that at the end of 1989 Romania did not have any foreign debts. Moreover, the country's treasury had a hard currency surplus of $2.4 billion. [passage omitted] In 1991, Petre Roman's government created a foreign debt of approximately $5 billion. We are asking what has been done with this money?

II. People not doing their work is another argument of the government team to support their own position and to justify the current (unsound) situation of the Romanian economy. [passage omitted] The fact is, the Romanians are working—to survive, of course—but there are innumerable cases when they have to interrupt their activity for objective reasons, of which the most important ones are: Lack of raw materials, energy, and a disorganized production process that cannot be blamed on the workers.

As far as the rapid (and uncontrolled) increase in wages is concerned, the blame falls solely on the National Salvation Front [FSN] and its populist policy of buying the hungry electorate that has been deprived for such a long time of goods that are indispensable for a decent life. [passage omitted] The granting of additional wage funds up to 20 May 1990 proved to be completely unfounded, economically and financially. Thus, the relationship between labor and wages deteriorated tremendously, leading to serious social conflicts (strikes, meetings, and demonstrations).

III. The difficulties that emerged in the transition process are explainable. However, a strange thing—with a dual connotation—is happening in our country, namely the nonapplication of the principles of the market economy:

a) One cannot speak about a genuine privatization of the economy;

b) The difficulties invoked by the government are artificial ones; they are not linked to the general framework of the reform (as our almost Olympian prime minister holds), but are created deliberately to bring about a short circuit in the formation of the new economic mechanism and to thus preserve the former, centralized one.

What has been undertaken so far is designed to mislead the West regarding the real intentions (of a neocommunist nature) of the FSN-ist leadership. [passage omitted]

Referring to the possibility that the IMF may not grant a huge loan, Mr. Mugur Isarescu, governor of the National Bank, said: "If we are not granted the promised support in conformity with the program—he was talking about this loan—in the absence of other economic management instruments, we will be forced to return to the centralized system, to centralized planning, and that would be a great pity." [passage omitted]

One thing is sure, Petre Roman's government does not want a reform of the economic system but the return to a centralized economy. [passage omitted]

IV. Mr. Petre Roman repeatedly complained about the obstructionist attitude of former administrative and economic structures. [passage omitted] He blamed the slow pace of the reform on the presence and action of such elements. But this is a gross diversion because:

—One cannot speak—as I have emphasized—of a genuine economic reform in Romania;

—These structures, including both executives and the parliamentary majority, are maintained and encouraged by the FSN-ist administration. The counterreform could not be applied without these communist state functionaries. [passage omitted]

Something has to be done, but by whom and when? To pull the Romanian economy out of this situation, we need political changes first and foremost. However, I know how unattractive the FSN and its leaders find the idea of relinquishing the positions of which they have fraudulently taken hold. The fact that they cling to these management positions will cost us a great deal...

Article Views General Discord, Mood of Nation

AU2607094091 Bucharest REALITATEA ROMANEASCA in Romanian 23 Jul 91 pp 1, 2

[Ion Parhon article: "A Deplorable Mood!"]

[Text] Everybody can see what is happening to us. However, the causes are not obvious. The tirade of invectives, suspicions, and mutual accusations continues in Parliament. The liberals condemn the violence with which the government "subordinates" the Parliament. The representatives of the National Salvation Front [FSN] accuse the National Liberal Party [PNL] of undermining dialogue and of delaying the privatization process. The ruling party expands its "platform" to divide the guilt for an unenviable economic situation but also thinks about the coming elections.

The opposition has been accused in every possible way; thus, it feels more and more pushed to the periphery, cheated, and split.

Privatization has become the playground upon which the two camps are clashing. The majority party makes a big point of its "concern for tomorrow" by affirming that the percentage of 70 percent for the state is needed for investments, development, and new technologies. This is exactly the same wording as before, when the odious one [Ceausescu] intoxicated us with his "pride" at Romania's being the country with the highest accumulation rate, meaning that in a matter of... centuries we will have it very good.

Everybody is dissatisfied! And according to Mr. Barladeanu, who has also turned into an oppositionist when it comes to... certain people in the government, the television "dissatisfies everybody!"

A spectacular case of dissatisfaction is the case of the National Unity Party which has declared its opposition to the FSN, the opposition, and so forth.

An appeal has been made to the "reasoning ability" of the presidential institution. However, it seems that the president cannot cope with the role of "mediator!" All he does is hem and haw. That smile of his, which enchanted the whole nation during a December of sacrifices and hopes, today inspires mistrust, suspicion, and helplessness.

What we are concerned about is not a smile or a "handshake," nor the lessons of good behavior journalists are taught during news conferences, nor the lessons of good behavior the Romanians are taught on television—the Romanians who, in his opinion, are not as civilized as our Hungarian neighbors, for instance... We are concerned about the fact that both the president and the ruling party continue to note and to condemn this general discord and deplorable mood without examining their cause. When a whole nation is disinformed and deceived with promises, which not even children can believe; when the dust of false scenarios and the veil of shameful silence have spread over the graves of the December martyrs; when trials have turned into a masquerade and the most important witnesses defy the court through their absence; when our everyday life is "prey" to Mafiosi; when poverty, illness, and helplessness are present everywhere; and when people do not travel anywhere anymore because they lack the money, have no place to go, and are not even in the right "mood" for such a thing, then how can we feel motivated to work, to listen to parliamentary speeches, civilized dialogues, and display "solidarity in thought and feeling?" Why grow hoarse blaming the shortcomings of the former nomenklatura when the new one is following in its steps?

Yes, it is true, we are doing each other in with enthusiasm worthy of a better cause. However, simply acknowledging that we are irrational people will not put things right; they will be put right only through honest and persevering efforts to shed light on everything, shake off the burden of our own mistakes and limitations, and—through the virtue of empathy—see the grain of truth in the thoughts of those we condemn or the drop of justice in this ocean of dissatisfaction that tries to stifle the existence of our "uncivilized" nation. What else is left but the invitation of sad memories at the end of a historic meeting: "Hey, comrades, calm down!"

Trade Union Views on Privatization Bill Reported

AU2607104291 Bucharest REALITATEA ROMANEASCA in Romanian 23 Jul 91 p 1

["CONSENERG" position on Privatization Bill]

[Text] The Council of Representatives of the Energy Trade Union Confederation [CONSENERG], examining the events in Romania's Parliament in connection with the adoption of the "Privatization Bill," a draft bill formulated by the Romanian Government, wishes to express the following viewpoint:

1. It backs the position of all parliamentarians who demand the reformulation of this bill that is of national interest.
2. It criticizes the position of the government, which has not respected the provisions of the Joint Government-Trade Union Commission regarding the Draft Privatization Bill, and demands that the viewpoints of the trade union confederations in Romania be presented in Parliament as well.
3. CONSENERG protests the government's aim to establish hundreds of state-owned companies to preserve

a large section of state property, a position that is at variance with the idea of privatization.

Council of CONSENERG Representatives, President: Nicolae Manole

New Party Advocates Absence of Political Groups

AU2507142291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1225 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/7/1991—Under the slogan "For A Romanian Homeland, Work, Unity and Respect," a central commission was created in Cluj-Napoca for the foundation of a new political group—the Patriotic Unity Party of Romania. "The aim of this party is the creation in Romania of a society set on pluralism, without the dictatorship of one party or one ideology," a communique sent to the press shows.

"In our outlook, political groups, including our party, should terminate their activities and dissolve themselves. The united Romanian people will have to express its interests through its representatives gathered in the patriotic unity assembly."

The aim of the creation of a society based on the pluralism of the people is to diminish and eliminate the hatred created and maintained by political groups, the communique also shows.

Federal

Belgrade Paper Reports Markovic's Resignation

LD2607110391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0955 GMT 26 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Jul (TANJUG)—Ante Markovic's smile of an optimist while getting off the aircraft at Ohrid airport on Sunday afternoon is his last smile as a president of the federal government. Before he boarded the aircraft and left for the meeting of the country's "political aktiv," Ante Markovic told his colleagues in the Palace of the Federation in New Belgrade, that he would hand in his final resignation. Those who listened to him then, claim that this was not only a political maneuver of an eternal optimist, but that he decided this on the basis of the conviction that he is not able "to rule" any more, today's NIN [Belgrade weekly] says in its article entitled "The Last Smile".

According to reliable sources from the government, says NIN, some time before that Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar offered his resignation as well. Because of this, the text claims, the government was concerned last Monday. Those members of the government who stayed in Belgrade, as well as the top officials who were familiar with what was happening, were impatiently expecting the news from Ohrid. The statement from Ohrid, which says that the government proposal on the functioning of the country during the three months moratorium was not discussed, but that this document was only distributed to the participants of the meeting and that "there would be further consultations in the republics" about it. This will probably not influence Ante Markovic's decision. The reasons for his resignation are not economic or political. The reason is the disagreement with the Army General Veljko Kadijevic.

The text says that Ante Markovic and Veljko Kadijevic were close colleague. The army was supporting the economic reforms of the government because these reforms integrated the country, economically and politically. The difference of opinions occurred however following the army intervention in Slovenia. The army circles claim that they were drawn into this intervention by the federal prime minister, so Slovenia could gain international recognition by proving to the world that it is a victim of military aggression, which did happen. It was shown that the Army intervention was not necessary because the Army had already been stationed in the watchtowers at the border, and no one attacked it in Slovenia before the intervention.

The commentary further quotes that there are a lot of those, and that there will be even more, who claim that Ante Markovic contributed to this republic becoming independent, more than the complete Slovene policy, by drawing the army into the intervention in Slovenia.

It is especially emphasized that Ante Markovic persistently claimed that the federal government was united, despite the fact that it is well-known that the general secretary of the government was interrogating Zivko Pregl a few months ago under prime minister's orders, for giving away state secrets. Who the vice president was giving away the secrets to, and which secrets, remains to be revealed, writes today's NIN.

Presidency Meets To Discuss Situation in Croatia

LD2607084691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0815 GMT 26 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Jul (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency session started at 0930 [0730 GMT] today in Belgrade. All the SFRY Presidency members, the SFRY Assembly president, the Federal Executive Council president, the federal secretary for internal affairs, deputies of the federal secretaries for national defense and foreign affairs, and the Croatian deputy minister for internal affairs, are present at the session.

According to its information service, the SFRY Presidency is discussing realizing the decisions adopted on 9 May 1991 in connection with the situation in the Republic of Croatia, including the Yugoslav People's Army's involvement in accordance with its constitutional and legal role. At the beginning of the session, SFRY Presidency member Bogic Bogicevic and the Federal Council for the Protection of the Constitutional Order president briefed the others on the Council's assessments, stands, and proposals on how to implement the SFRY Presidency's program of measures and activities, adopted on 9 May 1991, on the situation in Croatia.

FEC Discusses Implications of Moratorium

LD2507180891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jul (TANJUG)—According to the Federal Executive Council's [FEC] Information Secretariat, today's session of the FEC, chaired by Ante Markovic, considered the obligations of the Federal Government and federal organs emanating from the proposed agreement on the functioning of the country during the period of moratorium which is to be discussed at the first meeting of the expanded SFRY Presidency.

The session especially dealt with the functioning of the market, payments transactions, customs and the federal budget.

The members of the FEC were informed that Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic and Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, will meet all the prime ministers and foreign ministers of the countries participating in the Pentagonal meeting in Dubrovnik which begins tomorrow.

The draft agreement on the functioning of the country during the moratorium will be the center of attention at this meeting as well as the forthcoming meeting which Markovic and Loncar will hold with the 12 in Brussels.

Mesic Upholds 'Pre-Parliament' Proposal on Talks

LD2607020491 Belg-ade TANJUG in English 1749 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 25 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav State Presidency Stjepan Mesic today upheld a proposal put forward by the Federal "pre-parliament" for talks between the auhorities and opposition in Yugoslavia.

In talks with the representatives of the [words indistinct] of Yugoslavia which rallies thirty-odd parties and movements throughout the country, Mesic promised that he would form the Yugoslav State Presidency at tomorrow's session of the proposal.

The representatives of the pre-parliament said that Mesic had said, that if the Yugoslav State Presidency did not agree to official participation, then he would come as a citizen to the round table set for July 28 in Sarajevo, which is supposed to be some kind of preparation for future talks between the authorities and the opposition in Yugoslavia.

Pre-parliament representatives press conference described Mesic's agreement to attend the meeting on Sunday, as an important breakthrough from the usual practise where the authorities do not recognize the opposition as partners.

The pre-parliament also sent an invitation to the Federal parliament calling on it to take part in the talks on Sunday.

The opposition and the authorities would, as proposed by the pre- parliament, discuss the ways for a peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav crisis, determine the economic and political functions of a joint state in the transitional period, and call for Federal elections.

The pre-parliament demands that the authorities stop the further escalation of armed conflicts and respect decisions made by the civilian authorities.

Representatives of the pre-parliament set out a peace plan for ending the civil war, based on the forming of mixed observer commissions consisting of representatives of the European Community, the republican governments and the local conflicting sides.

Mesic Meets Albanian, Turkish Representatives

LD2607054191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1421 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jul (TANJUG)—Albanians from Kosovo should resolve their problems through a persistent struggle and appoint their representatives in negotiations on the future community, the president of the SFRY Presidency, Stipe Mesic, said in the course of talks with a group of delegates of Albanian and Turkish nationality in the SFRY Assembly. The talks were held today in the palace of the Federation. In this struggle, you should not exclude the possibility of internationalization of problems, demands for international observers, boycotts, and all available political means. It is impossible to wait for others to resolve your problems, because there is no one to resolve them, Mesic said assessing that all federal organs are flawed.

Stressing that he was presenting his own position, because the state presidency has not yet discussed the situation in Kosovo, Mesic said that he can only put this topic on the agenda of a presidency session. What the outcome of a discussion will be, will depend on the balance of power in the presidency.

Actions Possible Against Slovene, Croatian Banks

LD2507224691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1923 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jul (TANJUG)—The National Bank of Yugoslavia on Thursday informed the Federal Government that the introduction of further sanctions was possible against the banks in the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia. The National Bank of Yugoslavia on June 27 decided that the banks of the two republics were being temporarily denied the right to draw from the primary money issue. This decision came after the two adopted unilateral acts which proclaimed that they seceded from Yugoslavia. The National Bank on Thursday announced that it would withdraw its decision only after competent organs in Slovenia and Croatia invalidated the legislation disrupting the functioning of the unified monetary and foreign currency system in Yugoslavia. At present, the National Bank said, 'these two republics were preventing its functioning'. The National Bank stressed that it was its duty to, 'in keeping with the constitution and other legislation, undertake further measures to protect common interests of Yugoslavia in this area.' Following a ban by the Council of Governors, Slovenia and Croatia have in the period from 27th June and 17th July taken from the federal budget 4.3 billion dinars without drawing up any document that says they would ever return the money.

Belgrade Daily Assesses Ties With Germany

LD2507215291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1224 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 25 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav crisis and current developments in eastern and south-eastern Europe will be a 'test not only of the interests and objectives of Germany but also of those of other European countries and their allies,' a Belgrade expert in international affairs writes in today's issue of the daily BORBA.

The expert, Ranko Petkovic, points out four facts which, he says, 'explain the avalanche of anti-German feeling which hit those who still believe that the right of all peoples in Yugoslavia to self-determination can be realised through a peaceful understanding.'

One fact, says Petkovic, is that 'the leading media in Germany have launched a full-scale propaganda campaign of blackening and discrediting Yugoslavia, especially Serbia and the Yugoslav Army, and supporting Slovenia's and Croatia's secessionist aspirations.'

The other is that the 'major political parties in Germany have clearly opted for supporting the secessionism of Slovenia and Croatia,' notes Petkovic.

He adds that 'this stand [word indistinct] been expected from the Christian Social Union of late Franz Jozef Strauss, assumed, rightly or not, to be adding wind to the sails of Austria, which appears as a kind of political executor in breaking up Yugoslavia.'

However, says Petkovic, 'it was a little less likely that it would be followed by its powerful sister-party, the Christian Democratic Union, in view of the official obligations of its leader, Chancellor Helmut Kohl, to Yugoslavia as a friendly state.'

The biggest surprise, however, came from 'the always close German Social Democrats, who, with hardly a wink, agreed to a bid to write off Yugoslavia,' says Petkovic.

'A major surprise and turnabout came when German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, whose friendly attitude to Yugoslavia has been proved on a number of occasions, began not only to declare himself for Yugoslavia's disintegration but also to act in that direction.'

Pointing out facts which have provoked the anti-German feeling and claims that a 'fourth German reich' plans to put the entire Europe, including Yugoslavia, under its command, Petkovic recalls that 'the Yugoslav press has "imported" the fourth-reich metaphore from the European press, primarily as an association about a possible course of events which would not be in the interest of Europe, Germany or Yugoslavia.'

Antiwar Demonstrations Reported Nationwide

LD2507212591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1836 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade-Skopje-Sarajevo-Zagreb, July 25 (TANJUG)—Under the motto "Negotiations Instead of War", around 2,000 people gathered in front of the Federal parliament building in Belgrade today to demand an end to all armed clashes in Yugoslavia and the restoration of peace in the country.

The action was organized by the "Anti-War Action Committee", an informal association of people from various parts of the country. Belgraders carried flowers for the victims so far of the clashes in Yugoslavia.

A similar movement under the motto "Five Minutes to Twelve" was also held in Skopje, the capital of the Yugoslav republic of Macedonia.

People protested against the civil war with a minute of silence and a "peace march" through the central street of Sarajevo, the capital of the republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In Zagreb, capital of the Republic of Croatia, members of the "Anti-War Campaign Committee" published a charter in which they reject violence and war.

"We will communicate and cooperate regardless of differences in the political orientation and regardless of how the relations among the republics are settled", the anti-war charter of the Zagreb members of the Yugoslav peace movement. [sentence as received]

Papers Doubt Arms Shipment for Third Country

AU2607080091 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 0500 GMT 26 Jul 91

[Georg Scholl-Gruber report]

[Text] A shipment of 30,000 tonnes of arms arrived in the port city of Bar, Montenegro, last night. The shipment is currently being unloaded. We will probably hear a lot more about these arms in the foreseeable future.

It seems as though people are trying to put out a big fire with oil here. There were guns, helicopters, tanks, and possibly even motor torpedo boats on board seven Cypriot ships. It was one of the largest arms shipments ever to arrive in Yugoslavia. Nine more ships are reportedly on their way.

The shipments came from Beirut, Lebanon. It is in this context that one must view the question of the newspaper POLITIKA as to who would want to have a second Lebanon in the Balkans.

The shipments were allegedly duly registered with the Yugoslav authorities. A spokesman for the port administration said that the shipments are destined for a third country. However, he did not say for which country. He added that the arms would be stored in Bar until the owner gives orders to ship them elsewhere.

The Yugoslav newspapers are, of course, not the only ones to doubt this. They are speculating that the arms are much more likely destined for one of the Yugoslav warring parties. POLITIKA writes that there are enough weapons now to equip an army of 100,000 men with the most deadly offensive weapons.

Constitutional Court Views Presidency's Decisions

AU2507173791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Dragan Mihovic report]

[Text] Slovene judges today walked out from the last session of the Constitutional Court before the summer vacation. Dragan Mihovic reports:

[Mihovic] Considering that the Slovene judges could not agree at all with the proposed agenda that was discussed for almost three hours, Milovan Buzadzic, president of the court, asked the Slovenes to formulate the agenda themselves. After a brief break for consultations, they did so, demanding that out of the 24 points on the officially proposed agenda, 21 points be excluded. The court held a vote and this proposal was rejected by 10 votes to three.

When this happened, judges Kristan and Mocivnik walked out of the session saying that this kind of agenda was not contributing toward peace in the country.

So what was on the agenda? Mainly all those acts with which the Republic of Slovenia is unconstitutionally finalizing its statehood. Here are some of them: the law on the supervision of state borders; the law on nationality; the law on travel documents; the law on foreign affairs; the law on the customs service of Slovenia; the law on foreign exchange dealings, and so on.

Let us recall that the initiative for starting the procedure was launched by the Federal Executive Council, and when its session resumed, the Constitutional Court unanimously voted against the implementation of all these acts until a final decision is made. Similarly, the court made null and void the law passed by Montenegro on the introduction of special taxes on property or, as they are known by the public, taxes on holiday houses.

The session is still going on. An interesting and probably very polemical discussion is expected to be had on the last point on the agenda, which was proposed by the president of the court, to the effect that the decision of the SFRY Presidency on the withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army units from Slovenia be scrutinized by the Constitutional Court.

The proposer holds the view that with this decision, and a number of other formulations, the SFRY Presidency has violated the federal constitution.

Slovenia

Jansa Affirms Unanimous Position on Withdrawal

LD2507202191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1819 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Ljubljana, July 25 (TANJUG)—No opposite stands exist in Slovenia concerning the withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) from Slovenia's territory, as defence minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia Janez Jansa said at a news conference today.

Jansa said the conflict between the JNA on one side and the Slovenian territorial defence and police on the other was to be analyzed soon.

The conflict broke out after Slovenia had proclaimed independence on June 25.

The JNA withdrawal from Slovenia will leave an empty space in air space control alone,' Jansa said. This question must be resolved as soon as possible, and it might happen that 'the opposing side tries to blackmail Slovenia in this respect,' Jansa underscored.

A decision that JNA units pull out of Slovenia was taken by the Yugoslav state presidency on July 18.

As for the attitude of the JNA organs towards the Slovenian soldiers who have deserted their posts, Jansa said the 'military police was no longer chasing the former soldiers, but criminal charges had been instituted against them.

Presidency Willing To Talk on Army Withdrawal

LD2507104591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0905 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Ljubljana, July 25 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia is prepared to discuss all questions in connection with the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from the republic directly with the Army leadership, with the mediation of the Presidency of Yugoslavia.

A statement released from an enlarged session of the Slovenian Presidency, held last night, says that the Army's withdrawal from Slovenia is in the interest of the republic and that the republican bodies will do everything to resolve the technical and other questions connected with the withdrawal.

Slovenian bodies and the Federal Army's leadership should discuss those questions of the Army's withdrawal which could not be resolved at the level of command of the the Fifth Army District, which comprises Slovenia and northern Croatia.

The Presidency of Slovenia said that the war fought recently in its territory was "unnecessary and tragic", affecting Slovenia's international promotion. The statement stresses that "a lengthy diplomatic battle will obviously be necessary before Slovenia could be internationally recognized".

The Presidency accepted the initiative of the parliamentary parties that a Slovenian goodwill mission visit all the Yugoslav republics by mid-August in order to exchange views on how to resolve the Yugoslav crisis. This would "consolidate the basis for a peaceful and negotiated attainment of independence by Slovenia and the possibilities of future economic and other cooperation", the statement says.

Slovene Judges Walk Out of Constitutional Court

LD2507134791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1026 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jul (TANJUG)—The judges of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court from Slovenia, Ivan Kristan and Radko Mocivnik, today left a session of the

Constitutional Court because the SFRY Presidency's decision on the Yugoslav People's Army's withdrawal from Slovenia was on the agenda.

Claiming that the assessment of constitutionality of this Presidency decision will create new dangers for peace in Yugoslavia, Judges Kristan and Mocivnik said that Slovene bodies will adopt stands on the newly created situation. Following their walkout, the Constitutional Court resumed work.

Two Airports in Slovenia Reopen

LD2607085391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0817 GMT 26 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Jul (TANJUG)—This morning Ljubljana and Maribor airports reopened to regular air traffic. The third Slovene airport in Portoroz should open in the course of the day, an Federal Executive Council [FEC] Secretariat for Information statement says.

Following FEC involvement in removing the difficulties which were preventing the airports from reopening, a team of experts from the Federal Secretariat for Transport and Communications quickly carried out their work and created conditions for air transport in Yugoslavia to be normalized.

Rupel Seeks EC Help on Airports

LD2507102591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0918 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Ljubljana, July 25 (TANJUG)—Foreign Minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia Dimitrij Rupel has applied to president of the E.C. Ministerial Council Hans van den Broek to intercede with the Yugoslav Government to deblock Slovenia's airports.

The airports in Slovenia were closed down on June 26, at the outbreak of the conflict between the Slovenian Territorial Defence and the Federal Army.

Rupel's letter to Van den Broek says that 'the measure applied by the Yugoslav Government is undoubtedly political in character and is connected with the military intervention in Slovenia and other forms of pressure brought to bear on the republic which has, since June 26, been completely cut off from international air traffic.'

Rupel says that the Slovenian Adria Airways air carrier loses one million dollars a day through the air blockade and that losses are being sustained also by the airports in Ljubljana, Maribor and Portoroz.

Rupel calls on Van den Broek to intercede with the Yugoslav Government for an immediate lifting of the measure.

Slovene Soldiers Released; Airports To Open

AU2507163791 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Janez Drnovsek had talks again today with the highest representatives of the Yugoslav Army. It has been announced from his office that the first group of Slovene soldiers will go home today. It includes the soldiers with the longest amount of service. Two other groups will be released in relation to their length of service, so that the last group, which will be released by 15 August at the latest, will comprise the soldiers who were called up last.

It has also been announced by Drnovsek's office that military organs have carried out the necessary adjustments needed for reopening Slovene airspace. Today all Slovene airports will receive approval to reopen and will be able to resume operations tomorrow morning.

Croatia

Tudjman Claims Croatian Sovereignty 'Near'

LD2607134791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1207 GMT 26 Jul 91

[Text] Dubrovnik, 26 Jul (TANJUG)—"The full sovereignity of Croatia is near", said Croatian President Franjo Tudjman today at an extraordinary session of the Dubrovnik Municipal Assembly

He stressed that Croatia will do everything in its power to achieve this peacefully if at all possible, and through a democratic dialogue, "in order to show the world and Europe that we are for democracy."

However, if this is not possible, said Tudjman, we will not hesitate to mobilize the whole Croatian national defense, although I believe that we can achieve our aspirations for independence without a great war.

Tudjman pointed to something which he strongly condemns and describes as the behavior of individuals who are trying to earn money in this situation of crisis and bloodshed, by selling arms to people for enormous sums of money, and are thus becoming war usurers.

Tudjman also spoke about the significance of Dubrovnik as a bastion of Croatian culture, its works of science and art, and stressed that he firmly believes that the present inhabitants of Dubrovnik do not need any kind of a Republic of Dubrovnik [Dubrovnik was an independent republic, a city-state, until the 19th century]. Dubrovnik is an important center in the service of Croatian politics, he said .

CDU Planning Demonstrations in Brussels, U.S.

LD2507205291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1146 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Zagreb, July 25 (TANJUG)—Ante Beljo, secretary of the Croatian Democratic Union (CDU), the

ruling party in this Yugoslav republic said at a news conference in Zagreb today that the party would organize demonstrations in Brussels on July 29—during a meeting of the European Community's ministerial council.

Beljo said at a news conference today that the demonstrations were intended to show 'what the Croatian people think of Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic and Federal Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar,' who will attend the E.C. meeting.

The CDU will also hold a protest on July 27 in Washington, where it will demand the recognition of Croatia's and Slovenia's sovereignties, Beljo said.

He said Croatia enjoyed wide support throughout the world, but suffered from also a lack of understanding in the E.C. and the United States, as well as political circles 'which favour a restoration of a Yugoslavia of sorts.'

'The Croatian people will not accept this, regardless of the sacrifice it has to make,' Beljo stressed.

Asserting that Croatia had been occupied and would have to offer resistance, but that it could not afford to fall for provocations or meet the Army head-on, Beljo said that an 'all-out war against a greater-Serbian aggression' was on the horizon, and that other non-Serb peoples would fight on Croatia's side.

CDU secretary in charge of emigre questions Damir [name indistinct] (?said at) the news conference that Croats throughout the world were ready to come to Croatia and defend their original homeland.

Croat Daily Calls For International Peace Force

LD2507215791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1243 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Zagreb, July 25 (TANJUG)—The arrival of some kind of a European blue helmet force in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia would have to be accepted by Croatia, the Yugoslav Army and the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, the Zagreb daily VJESNIK writes today.

The paper, published in the capital of Croatia, says that 'Serbia is the direct instigator of war conflicts in Croatia' and that the Yugoslav Army 'is an open ally of the aggressor on Croatia'.

'By resisting the use of an international peace force, both the Yugoslav Army and Serbia would finally be unmasked, and the next move of the world diplomacy, if peace in Europe is in its interest, would have to be the recognition of Croatia's independence', says VJESNIK.

'By recognizing Croatia's independence, the world would open a new process which would necessarily defuse the Balkan powderkeg', the paper adds.

If the arrival of the blue helmets is accepted, their function would be 'to establish a ceasefire as the prerequisite for seeking solutions ... In which the inviolability of internal borders must be respected', concludes VJESNIK.

Daily: Serbia, Army 'Fomenting' 'Disintegration'

LD2507230491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1251 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Zagreb, July 25 (TANJUG)—The Zagreb daily VJESNIK accused today the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and the republic of Serbia of "fomenting autonomy-seeking ideas and the gradual disintegration of the territorial integrity of the republic of Croatia."

The daily, published in the Croatian capital, argues that the Army could use in Istria and Dalmatia, Croatia's coastal areas, "the same tactics as in the republic of Slovenia—a withdrawal under the pretext of intolerance of the local population towards the JNA."

The commentator speculates about a possibility that the "plan of physically and politically isolating Istria and Dalmatia from the rest of Croatia" could be realized "while at the same time continuing to exert pressure and create unrest in Slavonia" (north-eastern Croatia).

"The strategy of the JNA and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic is by withdrawing the Army from Slovenia to completely isolate Croatia and encircle it with military might—which would be followed by the realization of Milosevic's scenario for breaking up Croatia," VJESNIK argues.

Croatian Official on 'Invasion' of Slovenia

AU2507114791 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1000 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Guenther Schilhan report on interview with Croatian Deputy Information Minister Milovan Paletic; place and date not given; Paletic statements in Serbo-Croat with superimposed German translation]

[Text] Milovan Paletic is considered a close confidant of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. Paletic was chief editor of the daily VJESNIK, and under the communist leadership he was in prison for seven years. He now asks whether Croatia acted correctly during the conflicts in Slovenia.

Many in the Croatian leadership are now of the opinion that Croatia should have radically supported Slovenia, Paletic says. However, at that time, no one expected the Federal Army to be defeated in Slovenia.

[Begin Paletic recording] Croatia should have prevented the the Federal Army from marching through Croatian barracks to Slovenia. Even at that time, the weaknesses of the federal Army were recognized and one should have attacked it. The Army then marched into Slovenia

with the approval of all the world. However, would the world have approved our attacking the federal Army? [end recording]

Concerning the relationship between Croatia and Slovenia, the Croatian Deputy Information Minister Milovan Paletic says that it is tense. Croatia respects Slovenia on its path toward independence, but Slovenia has now revealed its cards. In Yugoslavia the cards are being dealt in a new way. We doubt that the relationship between Slovenia and Croatia is honest, Paletic says. In Slovenia there is still the old fear that a coalition between Croats and Serbs might be formed. However, in every Serbian-Croatian crisis Slovenia has so far managed to come to a compromise with the Serbs. We need Slovenia as a market and as a partner who protects the eastern border and we need it as an example that we should follow in Yugoslavia's political game, Paletic notes.

Paletic explains in detail why Croatia feels left in the lurch:

[Begin Paletic recording] We believed that we could act jointly, but Slovenia managed to come to an arrangement with the Serbs. In an elegant way, everybody else was circumvented, and even the partners in the Brioni talks were surprised. A few months ago Slovenia's President Kucan said that they would accept three years for the withdrawal of the People's Army. Now he managed to have the Army withdraw within three months. We Croats are surprised, but I believe that Europe is also surprised. [end recording]

Government Sends 'Sharp' Protest to Belgrade

LD2507232691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] The government of the Republic of Croatia has sent a note of sharp protest to the Yugoslav Presidency, the Federal Executive Council, and the Federal Secretariat for National Defense.

While presenting the chronology of war-related events in Croatia, the Croatian government demands an immediate and thorough investigation into all events, particularly into an inhuman attack on members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Novi Cakovci, Bogojevci, and Erdut, and that the perpetrators of the crime be brought to justice. It also demands an immediate end to the use of arms by the Yugoslav Army against the population and forces of interior order of the Repulbic of Croatia; that the Yugoslav Army in Croatia be withdrawn to the barracks in keeping with the Brioni accord; and that the responsibility be established of all those in the military hierarachy who are superior to the local commanders whose units committed war crimes. If these demands are not met, the Yugoslav Army will be considered to be beyond the control of Federal institutions and in the future it will be regarded as an army of occupation whose only aim is to destroy the lives of Croatia's citizens, occupy its territory, and topple its legal authorities.

The Croatian government has also sent a note of sharp protest to the government of the Republic of Serbia in which it points out: Members of the Yugoslav Army opened fire on the night of 25 July 1991 from their tanks and artillery pieces stationed on the left bank of the Danube, near the villages of Bogojevo, on the villages of Erdut and Bogojevci, which are on the territory of the Republic of Croatia. [passage indistinct] in the ruins of which nine dead members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia were found while 17 were wounded.

The Serbian government is [word indistinct] for this aggressive, brutal, and barbaric act that was committed against individuals and facilities on the territory of the Republic of Croatia. The Serbian government did nothing to prevent these attacks from its territory or to curb the onslaughts of terrorists on Croatia's soil. It has failed to expose these crimes and punish them. Since all the appeals we address to you for curbing terrorism and solving all problems solely by peaceful means have been to no avail, we want to convince you that the government of the Republic of Croatia will take all appropriate measures to protect its citizens and territory.

Authorities Close Off Vukovar, Forbid Departures

AU2607104891 Paris AFP in English 1026 GMT 26 Jul 91

[Helene Despic-Popovic report]

[Text] Vukovar, Yugoslavia, July 26 (AFP)—Croatian authorities have imposed a virtual state of siege on this city in the east of the republic, suspending the Serbian mayor and city council and forbidding residents to leave without special passes.

"We've noticed a huge movement of Serbs departing the city," said Josip Gazo, the city's deputy defence chief. "It is out of the question to let them leave, and give our opponents a free hand. They'll no doubt hesitate to attack us further if they know they'll also be hitting their own people," he said.

Zagreb declared this city of 65,000 in eastern Slavonia closed several hours after federal army tanks stationed in Serbia opened fire Thursday on Croatian national guard positions in and near Erdut, 20 kilometres (12 miles) north of here, killing 12 guardsmen.

In a separate clash Thursday, a Croatian policeman and a civilian were killed in an attack by "Serbian terrorists" near here, Radio Zagreb said Friday.

Zagreb suspended the city's communist mayor, a Serb, along with the rest of the city council, and installed a former deputy premier of Croatia as governor, with full powers. The governor, Marin Vidic, is a Croat and a member of the ruling party in Zagreb, the Croatian Democratic Community.

"When the barricades went up in Serbian villages, we let them come and go in the city, even though we couldn't go there. Now, we're getting our own back," Mr. Vidic said.

This city is roughly one-third Serb and one-third Croat, with 23 other ethnic groups making up the remaining third. Of the 7,000 mixed marriages recorded in the city, most are between Serbs and Croats.

Mr. Vidic, who is to be assisted by two communist deputies, ackowledged that he did not have full control of the national guard, and appeared worried that it would act on its own initiative. He said sending a European Community delegation to the area would be the only way to avoid a situation in which all sides radicalised—the national guard and the federal army, Serbs and Croats alike.

Warplanes made frequent passes over the city Thursday, and roads to the north and east were blocked. It was, however, still possible to go west toward Vinkovci, along a new road specially built to circumvent villages in which Serbian nationalists were in a state of armed rebellion.

Since Croatia declared independence on June 25, the breakaway republic has been at odds with neighbouring Serbia over its Serbian minority, which has unilaterally seceded from Croatia and asked to join Serbia. The federal army is widely considered by Croats to be a tool of Serbia.

An hour after the city was closed Thursday, an agitated crowd gathered outside national guard headquarters. Some wanted to apply for the special passes they now needed to leave the city. Others were young men eager to go to the defence of their republic and enlist in the national guard.

One elderly man asked if he could take crates of drinks out of the city, and was told, "no provisions can leave".

Journalists were allowed into the national guard headquarters, where new uniforms and provisions were stacked in unruly piles, and a "campaign hotline" was already in place.

Ministry Disbands Vukovar Local Government

LD2507150991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] The Ministry of Justice and General Administration issued an order today disbanding the Vukovar municipal assembly and its local executive council. Marin Vidic, current vice president of the Vukovar municipal assembly, has been appointed administrator of the Vukovar government.

'Large Group of Chetniks' Attack Vukovar

LD2507160391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Excerpt] From Vukovar, this is Nada Prkacin. According to unofficial reports a fairly large group of Chetniks coming from Brsadin along the River Vuka shortly before 1600 [1400 GMT] attacked a part of the town of Vukovar, the local community of Braca Djurdjevic, the so-called (?Budja III). Members of the National Guard Corps have already been dispatched there. For the moment we have no more information. [passage omitted: flights over Vukovar today; events in Tovarnik this morning]

Clashes Reported in Plastovo, Dobryevici

LD2507164291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1525 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Split, 25 Jul (TANJUG)—In the northern Zagorje region of the municipality of Sibenik, in the region of Bratiskovci near Skradin, members of the special units of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs took action at about midday to push back remaining groups of Krajina forces positioned in a part of the village of Plastovo and the hamlet of Dobrijevici, from where they are putting up fierce resistance.

According to reports, another policeman has been wounded and taken to the Sibenik Medical Center.

This was confirmed in the Sibenik police headquarters, but nothing more has been learned about the fighting which is still under way, nor about possible losses on the opposing side.

Group Threatens To Blow Up Krsko Plant

AU2607111491 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1000 GMT 26 Jul 91

[Friedrich Orter report from Croatia]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Even though in Slovenia the situation is beginning to normalize, here in Zagreb a letter from a Chetnik group, which has now become known, has caused considerable alarm. In this letter it is threatened to mine and blow up the nuclear power plant of Krsko in the border area between Slovenia and Croatia—as revenge for Slovenia's secession and, as the letter says, the interference of other countries in Yugoslav internal affairs.

Official Reports Attack on Glina

LD2607113191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1056 GMT 26 Jul 91

[Text] Zagreb, 26 Jul (TANJUG)—An attack on Glina is under way, Milan Brezak, assistant Croatian minister for internal affairs, said at a regular news conference at the Croatian Assembly. He added that the attack on Glina with mortars and other heavy artillery started at 1005. Brezak accused "Chetnik terrorists" for the attack.

The Ministry for Internal Affairs called General Uzelac and the General promised at 1045 that "Army units will act against attackers." Nothing, however, happened by 1145, Brezak said. In the meantime, 85 mortar shells fell on Glina.

The assistant minister for internal affairs said no one was killed and that one person was slightly injured.

Clashes, Sabotage Reported in Benkovac

LD2507150391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1232 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Knin, Yugoslavia, July 25 (TANJUG)—An explosive device was set off last night at a petrol station in the town of Benkovac, the town's mayor Zdravko Zecevic has said.

Benkovac is predominently populated by Serbs and lies 34 kilometres inland from the town of Zadar in Croatia on Yugoslavia's central Adriatic coast.

Luckily, the unknown bombers missed two storage tanks full of petrol, but the damage was nevertheless extensive, Zecevic said.

A pylon carrying a high-voltage transmission line which supplies Benkovac was knocked down in an explosion last night.

The information centre of Biograd (a Croatian town on the central Adriatic) said six mortar grenades had been fired last night at the village of Vuksic in the commune of Benkovac. The grenades missed the target and caused no casualties.

The police station of Pakrac (a town in central Slavonia, northern Croatia) said there was automatic weapons fire throughout the night. One restaurant and a jewelery store had their windows shattered.

Traffic has ground to a halt around the coastal town of Sibenik (south of Zadar). The night and morning were calm in the area around Bratiskovci, the scene of daylight fighting yesterday, the Sibenik police head said today.

'Fierce Fighting' in Northern Dalmatia

LD2507212191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1853 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Split, July 25 (TANJUG)—Fierce fighting erupted around noon on Thursday between the militia of the so-called Serbian Autonomous Region (SAO) of Krajina, on the one side, and the Croatian police and national guard, on the other, near the Adriatic border Sibenik, in northern Dalmatia, Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

There were no reports of casualties, but ambulances were reported continually moving from the fighting zone to the Sibenik hospital.

The Sibenik police department confirmed that special units of the Croatian police undertook action aimed at, as set out, pushing the remaining groups of Krajina formations, fortified at the Plastovo village and the hamlet of Dobryevici.

Members of the Krajina militia, as said, were offering staunch resistance.

The Croatian authorities do not recognize SAO Krajina, which is made up of a number of municipalities of central and southern Croatia, predominantly populated by Serbs.

The Croatian police, as the department [words indistinct] Belgrade announced on Thursday, robbed one of its refrigerated trailer trucks, which was carrying five tonnes of foodstuffs to Bosanski [word indistinct] in the republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, bordering Croatia.

The local authorities of Sid, a town in the republic of Serbia towards Croatia, announced on Thursday that a group of 16 foreigners were detained on Wednesday on suspicion of going to Slovenia and Croatia to fighting as mercenaries for these two republics.

As set out, there were eight Chinese, six Filipinos and two Russians.

At a press conference, the Sid authorities said that the group will be treated in accordance with international regulations and in cooperation with the respective embassies.

Police Ambushed Near Vukovar; Atmosphere 'Tense'

LD2507143891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Summary] A police patrol from the Tovarnik [southeast of Vukovar] police station was ambushed early this morning near the railway station in Tovarnik. The police car with four policemen was attacked with automatic weapons and hand grenades. Two members of the patrol were seriously injured and were taken to Vukovar hospital.

The atmosphere in the area is tense especially in light of the intensified movements of army vehicles in all directions and military aircraft which were sighted over the regions of Vukovar and Ilok.

Djodan Views Preparation for 'Defense War'

LD2507133791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1150 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Zagreb, 25 Jul (TANJUG)—"Serbia has forced Croatia into war," Dr. Sime Djodan, defense minister of the Republic of Croatia, said. At a regular daily press conference in the Croatian Assembly Djodan stated that Croatia wants peace but that it has to defend itself against Serbia's "imperialist goals." Serbs in Croatia, who make up only 6 percent of the entire Serbian nation, are being sacrificed so that Serbia can gain part of Bosnia-Hercegovina," Djodan said. "Serbia could not care less about Knin." Djodan mentioned Slobodan

Milosevic several times, denouncing him as "the self-styled representative of Serbs" and as the man to be blamed for the Serbian-Croatian conflict.

The Croatian defense minister accused the Yugoslav People's Army of arming and assisting "Serbian terrorists" and in some cases of "planning the actions." Dr. Djodan said that he knew that the Army was planning an attack on Erdut but that the [Croatian] leadership did not believe him.

"We are preparing for a defense war with all available means," Dr. Djodan said. He cautioned that the war would be "a difficult and prolonged one but Serbia will not come out of it as a victor." One of the proposals the Croatian defense minister made refers to the deployment of international forces along "the Yalta line." When asked to clarify the term, Dr. Djodan said: "It is generally known what is meant by this. In any case THE WASHINGTON POST wrote about it 20 years ago. The Yalta line implies the Budva-Drina-Danube-Drava line," Dr. Djodan explained.

At the same conference Hrvoje Hitrec, Croatia's information minister, read out an alleged proclamation by members of all nations and nationalities serving in the commands and units of the Fifth Air Force and Air Defense Corps published in VJESNIK this morning. Hitrec, however, could not explain by whom, when, or where the document was written.

Branko Salaj, an advisor to the Croatian president, who is responsible for contacts with the EC monitoring group, hinted at the possibility of the group supervising the Brioni agreement in Croatia.

Levels Charges at Army

LD2507175291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Excerpts] Following an attack by the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] and the Serbian Territorial Defense on members of the [Croatian] National Guard near Erdut, the Croatian government will demand that the problem be internationalized and that EC or UN special forces mediate.

This was stated today by Croatian Defense Minister Sime Djodan, who together with the coordinator for cooperation with the EC observer mission, Branko Salaj, took part in a news conference at the Croatian Information Ministry. Jasenka Dudic is reporting.

[Dudic] In accordance with the will of its citizens, Croatia has initiated the process of dissociation in order to settle accounts within Yugoslavia. Sime Djodan said this, stressing that Yugoslavia's external debt does not amount to $19 billion but rather $80-90 billion, according to estimates by Ljubljana experts. The internal debt has reached $35 billion, and $12 billion of savings have already been spent. There are real reasons for nervousness and a desire to take good positions in a possible account-settling and dissociation, he claimed.

At the same time, military actions are not helping Yugoslavia. Terrorists have inflicted $4-5 billion worth of damage in Croatia so far. By the end of the year, we will also lose $10 billion expected from foreign investment. A drastic fall in production is forecast. Djodan accused the YPA of this crime against all peoples. The YPA believes, he stressed, that it has special constitutional powers and, by using Greater Serbian ambitions, it is trying to topple the 1974 constitution and impose a Yugoslav version of a centralistic federation. [passage indistinct]

Djodan reiterated Croatia's desire for a peaceful and democratic integration with Europe, stressing that it would be logical to see reconciliation between Serbs and Croats, who have never been officially at war against one another. [passage omitted]

Reviewing messages from the main headquarters of the Serbian resistance movement, Djodan said that revenge is its prominent motive. The case of Erdut and the fact shells were fired—one of which was taken to the Croatian Assembly today—testify that terrorists, Army and the Serbian police are cooperating. The Croatian defense minister said the following on this subject:

[Begin Djodan recording] The Croatian government will protest and demand the internationalization of this case. I told the German ambassador yesterday that we will demand that EC or UN special forces create a buffer zone between Croatia and Serbia on the Yalta line. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Media Cited on Fighting in Vukovar Area

AU2607072091 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 26 Jul 91

[Text] Croatian media have reported that there was shooting in the Vukovar area last night. Thus, Croatian Radio has reported that there was fighting on the road between Brsadin and the Braca Djurdjevic local community in Vukovar. In the fighting between ethnic Serbian inhabitants of Brsadin and members of the Croatian Guard, Croatian Radio has said that both the civilians and the members of the Guard suffered dead and wounded.

According to reliable reports from Sid, there was fighting but it has not been reported whether there are dead and wounded.

YPA Reports Attack on Personnel by Guardsmen

LD2507200391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1815 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Zagreb, July 25 (TANJUG)—Members of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] are still exposed to provocations and armed attacks while carrying out their constitutional duties, the information service of the Fifth Army District, which covers the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia and part of the Republic of Croatia, said in a statement this evening.

The statement adds that at around 01:00 local time today, a group of Croatian national guardsmen first stopped and then opened fire at a military vehicle in the village of Cabune.

Major Radivoje Vuckovic and soldiers Dario Mandic and Predrag Popovic were wounded in the attack even though none of them had provoked the Croatian guardsmen.

After the incident, the wounded men left the vehicle and somehow managed to reach the settlement of Jugovo Polje.

All three are now being treated in the military hospital in Zagreb.

Serbia

Assembly President Bakocevic on Conflict

AU2607074791 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2003 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Interview with Aleksandar Bakocevic, president of the Serbian Assembly, by news announcer Elmar Oberhauser in Vienna—live; Bakocevic statements in Serbo-Croatian with simultaneous German translation]

[Text] [Oberhauser] President Bakocevic, first I would like to ask you a personal question. What do you feel in view of the fact that, at a time when the Iron Curtain has disappeared in Europe, when disarmament is being discussed, and when the superpowers are scrapping their weapons, two civilized peoples like Croats and Serbs are communicating through arms?

[Bakocevic] I had the honor of participating in the CSCE conference in Paris, at which the famous Charter on the New Europe was adopted. I, personally, am a great fan of the CSCE and its orientation. It is sad that the development of the situation in Yugoslavia has led to bloodshed and to casualties.

The Serbian leadership, whose members, from the very beginning of the political catharsis in Yugoslavia, have energetically worked for finding a political solution to the crisis in Yugoslavia, has supported dialogue and not war. I still advocate such an attitude today, and I am in favor of looking for a way out of the Yugoslav crisis exclusively by peaceful means and with the help of the EC during this 90-day period of interregnum.

As regards the scenes that we have seen: This is not a conflict between Serbia and Croatia. These are Serbs who live in certain areas of the Republic of Croatia, where they are the majority in these areas, in some villages and in some larger towns. Here the Serbs have resorted to self-organization so as to defend their houses and their home.

Instead of using methods of state terrorism against the Serbs, one should and must look for a solution so as to respect all human rights and liberties of the Serbs in Croatia and thus to look for a solution that would prevent bloodshed.

[Oberhauser] What might such a solution be?

[Bakocevic] Until the recent changes in the Constitution, the Serbs in Croatia had the status of a constituent part of the Croatian state. After the changes in the Croatian Constitution, the Serbs are no longer such a constituent part, and in some ways they have become second-class citizens.

There are more than 500,000 Serbs in Croatia, and one must find a civilized attitude toward the situation of the Serbs in Croatia, in harmony with the aforementioned CSCE documents.

[Oberhauser] Does this mean that in your view, the autonomy, independence, or sovereignty of Croatia can come about only if new borders are established?

[Bakocevic] If Croatia left Yugoslavia on the basis of the freely expressed will of the Croatian people and by following the principle of self-determination, one naturally would also have to discuss the border between Serbia and Croatia, because this border is not a state border. It is an administrative border, which was drawn by the communist regime, mainly following the concept of the Comintern. It is obviously clear that in this case a discussion about the border between Serbia and Croatia must be initiated.

[Oberhauser] However, does this not also have to be applied to the other side? In Serbia, too, there are some 100,000 Croats who live there.

[Bakocevic] Of course, the principle of self-determination must be valid for all peoples. There must not be any exceptions. The Serbian leadership advocates pursuing and concluding—with the help of dialogue—a discussion about respecting the right of all peoples to self-determination and not having this imposed by violence, thus violating the right to self-determination of other peoples in Yugoslavia.

I think that this is the most essential problem to be solved during this moratorium—in a dialogue among the representatives of all Yugoslav peoples or, rather, all Yugoslav republics. However, this means that one must respect both the right to self- determination of those peoples who want to continue living in a Yugoslav state and the rights of the peoples to determine their fate themselves if they no longer want to live in the Yugoslav state.

[Oberhauser] This all sounds very peace-loving. However, if I take your words seriously, how do you explain the situation of the Albanians in Kosovo, who feel massively oppressed by the Serbs, who even speak of genocide being committed there?

[Bakocevic] I must say that the opposite is the case here. Asked who oppresses whom in Kosovo, I say that the

majority, that is, the Albanian population, oppress the members of all other ethnic groups who live in Kosovo—Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, and Turks.

[Oberhauser] [words indistinct] after what you said before?

[Bakocevic] No, because in Kosovo the Albanians enjoy all rights as a national minority, but the key to understanding the situation in Kosovo is as an organized trend of a separatist movement of the Albanians in Kosovo in order to found a second Albanian state in Europe, on the territory of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

There is already one Albanian state, with the capital city of Tirana. It is impossible to establish another, a second Albanian state on the territory of Serbia and Yugoslavia. This is the main problem that one has to understand if one speaks about the situation in Kosovo.

[Oberhauser] However, I think that one should not need to discuss the fact that human rights must be observed.

[Bakocevic] Absolutely not. All people, regardless of their ethnic origin, must have all rights that are due to them as citizens.

[Oberhauser] Mr. President, one last question, and I ask you to give us a brief answer: I would like to come back to the conflict between Croatia and Serbia. You spoke in a rather conciliatory manner. On the other hand, weapons are still being used there. This is not only limited to Serbia; we have heard that the Federal Army also intervened there. Do you see a political solution to this conflict or has politics long lost its power there? Is the Army in power, or the Chetniks?

[Bakocevic] Of course, there is the great danger that, because of the facts, the situation in Yugoslavia will develop in this way, since there are several paramilitary groups and several parties have already started to form their own military units. It is also alarming that large amounts of weapons have been illegally imported across the borders. It is very important in this respect to disarm all paramilitary units and the militias of the various parties.

The Yugoslav People's Army has a very important role, namely to prevent bloodshed in the areas where such bloodshed takes place and to prevent the outbreak of ethnic conflicts and of civil war. The Yugoslav People's Army is under the command of the Yugoslav State Presidency. During the period when the Presidency was not able to fulfill this role, certain decisions were made by the Federal Government. This refers, specifically, to the decision to have the Yugoslav People's Army occupy the border between Slovenia and Austria, when several dozens of young, innocent soldiers were killed.

[Oberhauser] You would deny that the People's Army is on Serbia's side or is used by Serbia as an instrument?

[Bakocevic] The Yugoslav People's Army is the Yugoslav People's Army. It is Yugoslav. It is commanded by the Yugoslav Presidency, whose president is the deputy from Croatia. In the case that I mentioned, that is, when the Yugoslav Government made this decision, the Government was also chaired by a Croatian, namely Prime Minister Markovic. I must say that after the death of the innocent soldiers it was decided that the deputies from Serbia to the Federal Government should broach the question of the responsibility of the Federal Government and of Prime Minister Markovic because of the decision that led to the death of these innocent soldiers.

[Oberhauser] President Bakocevic, thank you for being our guest. We wanted to hear a Serbian voice for once. I wish for you, your people, but also for all other peoples in Yugoslavia that there will indeed be a solution to this situation, which corresponds to the 20th century. Thank you for coming.

Jokic Terms Paramilitary Groups 'Illegal'

LD2507143191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1114 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jul (TANJUG)—Serbian Defense Minister Vice Admiral Miodrag Jokic gave our TANJUG editor this statement in connection with the Serbian Renaissance Movements [Srpski Pokret Obnove] news conference on formation of the Serbian Guard, the enrollment of volunteers in the guard, and training its members which took place on 24 July 1991.

With the new law on defense which the Serbian Assembly unanimously adopted on 18 July this year—including the opposition—it was confirmed that in case of war, in case of immediate war danger, and during a state of emergency, the Territorial Defense can enroll volunteers. The Ministry of Defense enrolls volunteers on special instructions.

According to the law the volunteers can be anyone who does not have combat duties in the Yugoslav People's Army, the Territorial Defense Force, or Military Police. Volunteers will be trained within the units and headquarters of the Territorial Defense Force.

Vice Admiral Jokic stressed that the Republic of Serbia can defend itself as a state. The Serbian people, with their legitimate armed formations, need no paramilitary formations or the formation of a Serbian army, National Guard, or any other paramilitary formations, under the control of certain political parties. It is not in their interest nor does it contribute to their security.

For precisely this reason, the Serbian Assembly did not accept the Serbian Renaissance Movement's people's deputies proposal to form a Serbian Guard at the 23 July session.

The statement stresses that the new law on defense envisages imprisonment for 60 days for persons who organize, recruit, provide arms, equip, and train illegal armed formations.

The Republic of Serbia is a legal state and it does not allow illegal armed formations to be organized on its territory. There have been announcements before of certain political parties in Serbia organizing their own armed formations and, allegedly sending volunteers to fight for the protection of the endangered Serbian people in Croatia. The defense minister of the Republic of Serbia stresses that the state organs of the republic do not support this, nor is there any information on the truth of these statements, which have mainly served the purpose of self-promotion for certain Serbian political opposition leaders and their ambitions.

The patriotic motivation of the citizens who are prepared to fight as volunteers with weapons in their hands during these difficult times to defend the Serbian people is understandable. However, these brave people should register as volunteers with the Territorial Defense, as the new law on defense envisages, Vice Adm. Miodrag Jokic told TANJUG.

Draskovic: Army Must Prevent Civil War

AU2507145291 Vienna WOCHENPRESSE in German 25 Jul 91 pp 28-29

[Interview with Serbian Nationalist leader Vuk Draskovic by Lucian O. Meysels; place and date not given: "Yugoslavia Is in Ruins"]

[Text] [Meysels] Do you accept the accords of Brioni and Belgrade? What do you think about Ohrid?

[Draskovic] We accept everything, if it serves peace and common sense. That is not the case with the agreement, or rather, the declaration of Brioni. While the interlocutors congratulate each other, the agreement is not being observed in practice. In fact, what we are seeing is disintegration, decay, and ruin. That applies also to common sense and law and order. Everything is in shambles. As for the Belgrade agreement, I do not want to comment on it at this point. It is impossible to foresee the implications of Ohrid.

[Meysels] Could further disintegration be prevented by intensive negotiations?

[Draskovic] Negotiations are the only way out, but [Croatian President] Franjo Tudjman, [Serbian President] Slobodan Milosevic, and [Slovene President] Milan Kucan do not want to negotiate. They are unable to agree. They have lighted a big fire that they cannot extinguish.

[Meysels] You were not invited to take part in the negotiations....

[Draskovic] We insist on being considered as equal partners in talks. I personally could achieve agreement with the Slovene and the Croat people very quickly.

[Meysels] Do you accept the right of the individual republics to definitely leave the federation?

[Draskovic] Every Yugoslav republic has this right, however, only on the condition that the interests of the other nations in Yugoslavia are not violated.

[Meysels] If no agreement were achieved, do you think it would be defensible to use force to maintain the state's integrity?

[Draskovic] As long as the Yugoslav state exists, it is not only the right but the duty of the Yugoslav Army to defend the borders of this state and prevent civil war, if the police are unable to do so. That is the Army's task in any normal state.

[Meysels] The West generally calls your people "Chetniks," and in doing so, refers to the partisans of World War II General Draza Mihajlovic. Do you accept this term?

[Draskovic] You cannot say it like that. General Mihajlovic was supreme commander of all the Yugoslav Armed Forces, not only of the "Chetniks." His Army consisted of troops of all nationalities and fought for a free Yugoslavia. His deputy was a Croat. There were Slovenes, Jews, and Muslims at his headquarters. I am an admirer of General Mihajlovic (who was executed by the Communists after the war because of his alleged collaboration with the enemy). Regarding the term "Chetnik," it has an old tradition in the freedom struggle. It was the Communists who denounced them, equating them with bandits and collaborators in World War II.

[Meysels] Is it your people—whether Chetniks or guerrillas—who have supported the Serbs in their guerrilla war against the Croats in Croatia?

[Draskovic] I do not have my own people. I am fighting for Serbia and Yugoslavia. There are no private armies as in Lebanon.

[Meysels] But what should be done with the Krajina region, which does not have a border with Serbia but only with Bosnia? Is it to become an enclave, comparable to the Armenian Nagorno-Karabakh, surrounded by enemies?

[Draskovic] We have drafted a map of Yugoslavia as we see it. Krajina would go to Bosnia. In exchange, Croatia would get the regions in Bosnia that are inhabited by Croats. In other words, the region of Knin and a large part of Slavonia that Tito arbitrarily gave to Croatia would go to Bosnia.

[Meysels] Will the republic of Bosnia then still have a right to exist?

[Draskovic] Yes, as a republic of Bosnia-Krajina.

[Meysels] If you were to take over the Serbian Government, what would happen with the Albanians in Kosovo?

[Draskovic] We would guarantee the Albanians all the rights to which they are entitled by European standards. No less and no more.

[Meysels] Apart from the fact that Slobodan Milosevic is a communist and you are an anticommunist, where are the differences of opinion on the future of Serbia and Yugoslavia?

[Draskovic] It is my goal to save Serbia from the policy of our president who is currently in office. In my view, his policy is deadly for the Serbian people. In practice, Milosevic has taken up many of my ideas and has falsified each of them. He is incapable of affection and understanding, compromise and dialogue. He destroys, instead of constructing. He does not know how to win friends for Serbia. On the contrary, he has turned Serbia's old friends into enemies.

[Meysels] Is it correct that your ultimate goal is the restoration of the monarchy?

[Draskovic] My goal is a democratic Serbia and a democratic Yugoslavia, if the Croats and Slovenes accept that. Personally, I prefer a constitutional monarchy. As Hegel said, the king is the dot on the I.

[Meysels] Do you believe that the Croats and the Slovenes would accept Prince Aleksandr Karadjordjevic as a ruler?

[Draskovic] They would, under favorable circumstances. Regrettably, we are still far away from such circumstances. Serbia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro, and Macedonia would welcome the prince, Slovenia and Croatia probably would not. However, perhaps a Yugoslav community or confederation would be possible under a king—from the Karadjordjevic family, of course.

[Meysels] The last Kingdom of Yugoslavia was a royal dictatorship under Aleksandr I and the pro-German regent, Prince Paul. In view of these facts, could you take up the old constitution of the kingdom?

[Draskovic] I do not want to distribute the skin of the bear before it is killed. His Royal Highness Prince Aleksandr does not even have a Serbian passport, and you are asking me about the future constitution. We will answer this question satisfactorily in time.

'Chetnik Reservists' Active in Kosovo Towns

AU2507160291 Zagreb Radio Croatia in Albanian 2045 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] Units of reservists that have arrived from Serbia have in the last two days been conducting exercises in some parts of the town of Pec. And today in the hills above the town, they fired guns of various kinds with the aim of frightening and panicking the Albanians. Groups of reservists, many with beards, have also been observed strolling in the town's streets.

It seems that violence is on the rise in the commune of Decani. Reservists conducted exercises at the place called Ura e Demes yesterday, while military aircraft also flew past repeatedly. Increased military and other forces have been noticed in border regions in the mountains. The sound of firearms has become normal. Well-informed sources report that about 120 families have been raided in incidents involving looting and the maltreatment of innocent citizens. There have also been more dismissals of Albanian workers in Decani.

Military vehicles filled with Chetnik reservists passed through the center of Malisevo at about 1530 [1330 GMT] yesterday. They positioned themselves in the militia station, and later provoked citizens, carrying rifles on their shoulders. Later, at about 2330, many rounds of ammunition were fired near the clinic in the village of Dragobil. At about 0200, further shots from weapons of different kinds were heard.

Vojvodina Headquarters on 'Paramilitary' Bodies

LD2607003791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Novi Sad, 25 Jul (TANJUG)—In response to the frequent requests voiced in recent days by individuals, as well as by representatives of certain parties and associations, that they should be helped in organizing, training, and equipping volunteers, who under current legislation may be regarded as paramilitary formations, the Information Service of the Territorial Defense Headquarters of the Autonomous Province [AP] of Vojvodina has been authorized to announce the following:

The provincial headquarters of territorial defense of the AP of Vojvodina and the territorial defense headquarters commands under its command carry out the tasks of training territorial defense operational units for specialized purposes and maintain their combat readiness in line with the plans and programs endorsed by and uniformly applied in the territorial defense of the Republic of Serbia and the SFRY Armed Forces as a whole.

Training units outside the Vojvodina AP territorial defense are not under the competence of territorial defence headquarters and would be at odds with the decision of the People's Assembly of Serbia and the stands of the Supreme Headquarters of the SFRY Armed Forces, it is stated, among other things, in the statement. It also assesses a series of tests, ending these days, of mobilization and the combat readiness of a number of territorial defense headquarters and units: over 92 percent of those called up heeded the call. The officers and soldiers demonstrated a high degree of readiness, as well as a high degree of unity in military collectives, a high degree of responsibility, and readiness to carry out their orders together with the Yugoslav People's Army.

We expect officers and soldiers in the headquarters, commands, and units of the territorial defense will take a formal oath to defend their homeland within wartime

formations of the territorial defense of the Vojvodina AP. We expect the citizens of Vojvodina AP to continue to support the carrying out of these difficult and responsible tasks—it is stressed in tonight's statement by the Information Service of the Provincial headquarters of Vojvodina's Territorial Defense.

Magyar Society Criticizes Rival Leader

LD2607092891 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] The society called Magyars for Their Homeland, for Serbia and Yugoslavia, which wants to gain influence as the opposition to the Democratic Community of Magyars of Vojvodina [VMDK] among the Magyars there, has published its stance regarding the Yugoslav crisis. Sylvester Varga reports;

[Varga] Since it is obvious that unity with Slovenia and Croatia is illusory, steps have to be taken urgently to establish the state of peoples wanting to survive in Yugoslavia. The association regrets that Hungary, despite the friendly gestures towards Serbia, which she emphasizes, with her claim on Vojvodina—this is how the statement formulates—stepped onto the dangerous path of confrontation.

The association reproached Andras Agoston, president of the VMDK, for his stance against the law on language use; although he says that politics should not have been brought into the debate about the names of villages, and he acknowledges that perhaps a better solution could have been found. According to the association, no Hungarian would benefit if beside the name of Srbobran, Szent Tamas would also be written, for the majority only uses and understand the former.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Serbs, Muslims To Sign 'Historic Agreement'

AU2507145191 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Ljubomir Nikolic report from Sarajevo]

[Text] Serbs and Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina are about to reach a historic agreement on the organization of the common state of Yugoslavia. This was stated today by Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party. A similar statement was made by Adil Zulfikarpasic, president of the Muslim Bosniak Organization, in today's edition of Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE.

[Nikolic] The Croatian leadership wants to use Muslims in the fights against Serbs, which has been shown by the latest statements and acts by its leading members. However, the Muslims no longer want to wage war with Serbs because of someone else's interests, Karadzic says.

According to Karadzic, both Serbian and Muslim leaders are unanimous in the view that the optimal solution for the future Yugoslav state is to consist of all six republics. However, Bosnia-Hercegovina's remaining in an incomplete Yugoslavia should not depend on a decision by Slovenia and Croatia to leave the country.

In this case, in a Yugoslavia with four republics, the Muslims, according to their number and importance, would be the second largest nation, something that would significantly improve their position. Karadzic says that the Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina are getting the opportunity to join the Serbian-Muslim [word indistinct].

Karadzic today appealed to the democratically- oriented Croats to demand from their leadership a stop to insane attacks on Serbian people. The situation in Croatia disturbs Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina, who are increasingly expressing their desires to offer resistance and form volunteer units to help their brothers in Croatia, Karadzic points out.

It was stated today that the Serbian Democratic Party has a positive attitude toward the observance of 27 July, commemorating the uprising of the peoples of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The leaders of this party will participate and speak at the traditional rallies at historic revolutionary sites in the republic.

Muslims Propose Peace Plan for Bosnia

AU2507205891 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 25 Jul91

[Text] Adil Zulfikarpasic, president of the Muslim Bosniak Organization, presented at a news conference in Sarajevo the essence of the interethnic peace initiative of this party. He presented five principles on the basis of which, according to him, it would be possible to reach a historic agreement between Bosniaks, Muslims, Serbs, and Croats.

These principles are the unity of Bosnia-Hercegovina, its territorial integrity, indivisibility, and its equal constitutional and legal status; the abandonment of any idea and practice of the regionalization and cantonization of Bosnia-Hercegovina; recognizing the right of all peoples who live in this republic to equal status and roles; support for the national rights of Serbs in Croatia and Bosniaks in Sandzak; and the option of preserving the alliance of equal republics and peoples as a form of linkage among the states within Yugoslavia.

Zulfikarpasic said that today he already spoken to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Vuk Draskovic, and that he will talk to the ruling and opposition parties in Croatia and other republics.

Bosnian Serbs Support Ohrid Declaration

LD2507225691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1132 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Summary] Sarajevo, 25 Jul (TANJUG)—The Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina, supports the

Ohrid Declaration which is calling for peace, tolerance, equality and negotiations, it was stated at today's news conference of this party. An appeal has been issued today, at this conference, to the Yugoslav and the world public to try to stop the attacks on the Serbian villages in Croatia.

The chairman of the party, Radovan Karadzic, today again pointed to certain talks with prominent, responsible Muslims, who are angered by the fact that the Croatians have been counting on using them again in their struggle against the Serbs. There are some initiatives for a long term resolution of the Yugoslav community by these Muslims.

The stand that the citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina will not condition their stay in Yugoslavia with Croatia staying in it as well, has also been repeated. Even more so because, Bosnia- Hercegovina cannot separate from Yugoslavia without the consent of all its three nations.

EC Envoy Holds Talks in Sarajevo

LD2507203391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1151 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 25 Jul (TANJUG)—Henry Wijnaendts, a special envoy of the EC Council of Ministers Presidium, had talks in Sarajevo today with Ejup Ganic, a member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency who is standing in for the absent president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency.

In the course of his visit, Mr. Wijnaendts will have a series of meetings with representatives of federal and republican authorities in order to find out more about the situation in our country and to ascertain what role the EC and its member countries can play.

Henry Wijnaendts will also have talks in the Montenegrin Presidency today.

Macedonia

Gligorov Comments on Visit to Paris

LD2507180291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1120 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Skopje, 25 Jul (TANJUG)—After his one-day visit to France, Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov today declared in Skopje that "France has a balanced position, is also working independently within the European Community, and wishes to help Yugoslavia to solve the crisis. It is my duty to inform President Mesic and Prime Minister Markovic of the French message that the Yugoslav Presidency should meet as soon as possible before the ministerial meeting of the 12 in Brussels to try once again to determine the common stands for a peaceful solution to the crisis in the country."

We need a Yugoslav summit meeting for our own sake to find a solution to the crisis, and also for the sake of Europe which is trying to help Yugoslavia. France is concerned about the events in Yugoslavia and agrees with the view that the country can only be preserved provided that an agreement can be reached peacefully on the minimum joint functions. Gligorov said that the informed his host French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas that the main problem regarding the solution to the crisis in the country, especially after the Ohrid meeting, lies in an agreement on the cessation of clashes in Croatia and also in the danger of splitting Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The head of French diplomacy has expressed support for Macedonia's efforts to achieve a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis. Macedonia, Gligorov said, enjoys the support of the international community for its policy and is considered to be a constructive factor with a peace-loving and democratic orientation. Gligorov said that he had the opportunity to outline Macedonia's position as a sovereign state and to speak about a series of problems and experiences of this republic in building a democratic society. Expressing satisfaction with his visit to France, Gligorov emphasized the common interest in the expansion of mutual cooperation in all walks of life and pointed out the tradionally good relations and friendship between France and Macedonia.

Albanian President Invited for Official Visit

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[Text] Belgrade, July 26 (AFP)—The southern Yugoslav republic of Macedonia has invited the president of neighbouring Albania, Ramiz Alia, to pay an official visit, TANJUG news agency said Thursday, quoting Macedonian television.

The trip will mark the first time that an Albanian leader has visited any part of Yugoslavia in over three decades.

TANJUG said Prime Minister Nikola Kljusev handed over the invitation, from Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov, during a two- day visit to the Albanian capital Tirana.

On meeting with Mr. Kljusev, Mr. Alia once again expressed concern that the current instability in Yugoslavia would have negative effects for the almost three million ethnic Albanians who live in Yugoslavia.

Most of them live in Kosovo, an autonomous province of the Serbian republic, and in Macedonia.